

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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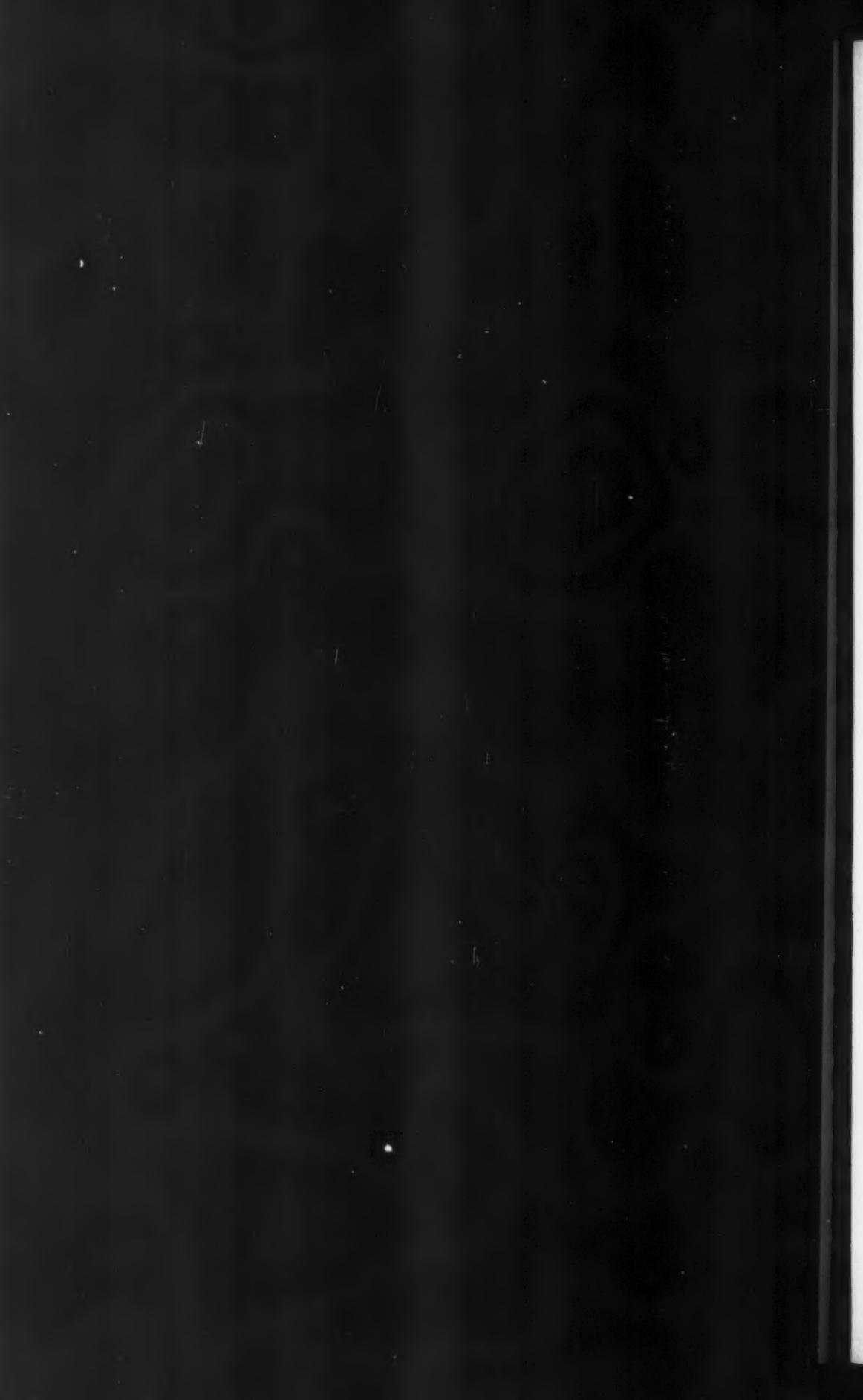
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MORE ON THE ARTHURIANA OF NENNIUS

The problem of Arthurian names is a fascinating but difficult problem, as all who have delved into it or have read Brugger's article in *MP* 38 (1941), 267-89, will realize. If I advert to it once more in connection with the Arthurian battles in Nennius, it is because I wish to clarify my own position that it is in the North—in Scotland and England—that we should look for the earliest manifestations of Arthurian lore or legend. To my preceding effusions on this subject (*MP* 39 (1941), 1-14, and *MLN* 57 (1942), 64-68) I now add the following remarks.

How easily we may err in our identifications is well illustrated by Rhŷs' explanation of the name Gwenhwyvar, as the equivalent of Guenevere. Rhŷs (*Arthur. Leg.*, p. 38) derives the Welsh name from *gwenn* 'white' and *hwyvar*, Irish *siabur* 'ghost' or 'phantom,' thus accounting for his idea of the mythological character of Arthur's queen. The fact,¹ however, is that *Gwenhwyfar* corresponds, in all probability, to Irish *Finnabair* and means 'fair-eye-brow,' a trait of feminine beauty common enough in medieval romances. On the other hand, transmogrifications are common, and we should not shut our eyes to changes in names merely because they apparently violate phonological laws. This may be seen in the place-name *Lyonesse*, employed by Tennyson in "The Passing of Arthur":

And ever push'd Sir Modred, league by league
Back to the sunset bound of Lyonesse—

and commonly associated in English with Tristram of Lyonesse, for Lyonesse originally is *Lothian* in Scotland. "It designated," says Brugger (p. 283), "the district in Scotland that is situated south of the Firth of Forth—Lothian, in Geoffrey's *Historia*

¹ See T. P. Cross, *Lancelot and Guenevere* (*Modern Philology Monographs*, 1930), p. 58, note 1.

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‘Lo(u)donesia’ (Wace: ‘Loëneis’).” How it became Léonois, etc. may be read in *MP* 22 (1924), in Brugger’s article “Loënois as Tristan’s Home.” Probably it also underlay the personal name Loenel (Leonel, Lionel), and so may account for Yvain’s association with a ‘lion’—the *Chevalier au lyon*, as again Brugger has shown. Akin to the process just described, is the method based on the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville of abstractly ‘etymologizing’ a name. On the biblical side it is admirably illustrated by Gilson in “Les raisonnements scripturaires usités au moyen âge” (*Les Idées et les lettres*, Paris, 1932, pp. 155-69). Thus arose, in the Arthurian field, various modifications of the name *Perceval*, such as *Perlesvaus* (‘lose-the-valleys’), *Parluifet* (‘self-made’), *Perceforest*, and even *Parsifal*. So too the form *greal* for *graal* (ML. *gradalis*, Eng. ‘Grail’), which Robert de Boron (vv. 2660 ff.) connects² with the verb *agreeer* or *abelir* ‘to please,’ and Robert appears to have equated Celt. Bran with the biblical Bron or Hebron. Often, however, certain figures owe their existence, or at least their names, to a misunderstanding³ or to the mistakes of careless and ignorant scribes. Thus the Sir Bercilak of *Gawain and the Green Knight* (see Hulbert, *Manly Anniversary Studies*, 12, and Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, 59-60) probably goes back to the ‘herdsman’ or ‘churl,’ the Irish *bachlach*, in the legend of Cu Roi mac Daire, and the Barzelack (Fueterer’s *Lancelot*), Bertelak (English Prose *Merlin*), Bercelai and Bertolais (Vulgate *Lancelot*) are similarly connected. But the classical instance of this type has been pointed

² Even Helinand (see *MP* 13 (1916), 681) says: “Dicitur et vulgari nomine *greal*, quia *grata* et *acceptabilis* est in ea comedenti.” See now the pertinent remarks of Spitzer, *MLN* 57 (1942), 605-6.

³ Such an error accounts for the personal name of Galaad or Galahad (cf. Heinzel, *Gralromane*, 134). The biblical text reads (Judges 10: 18): *erit dux populi Galaad* ‘he shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.’ But the author of the *Queste* makes Galaad a person and obviously read the line to mean: ‘Galaad will be head over all the inhabitants.’ As for contaminations due to the mixture of languages, extreme caution should be exercised, especially in a field as perilous as Arthurian studies. One may grant that Galaad must be related to W. Gualhavet as Gauvain is to W. Gwalchmei (see Loth, *Mabinogion*, 2nd ed., I, 282); but when it comes (see Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, 251 and elsewhere) to identifying the names Ballain, Galvain, and Galaad and saying, in so many words, “that Galaad is probably a substitution for some form of Galvain” credibility is strained. But then most Arthurians have dwelt so long in ‘glass-houses’ that it is unbecoming for any of them to throw stones. *Absit omen!*

out by Kuno Meyer ("Miscellanea Hibernica," *University of Illinois Studies*, II (1916), 9-11). After showing that King Bran mac Febail (in *Imram Brain*) originated from a misreading of the promontory called *Srúb Brain* 'Raven's Beak,' as if it were Bran's Headland—a discovery of Thurneysen's,—Meyer takes up the expression *mac Soalte* as applied in later legend to the great Irish hero Cu Chulinn. Hence Cu Chulinn's 'mortal' father was known as Soalte, Soalta, Sualtach, or most often Sualtaim. Let me now quote Meyer's own words:

By itself *mac soalte* would mean 'well-nurtured son,' and that this is actually the original phrase to which the name of the father may be traced is proved . . . by its occurrence in . . . alliterative prose, in which Leborcharm addresses Cuchulinn as follows (LL p. 119a): *Atraf, a Chúculaind, comérig, cobairthe Mag Murthemne ar firu Galeón, a gein Loga soalta* ('thou well-nurtured son of Lug').

To this there is an Arthurian analogue (see Gertrude Schoepperle, *Vassar Medieval Studies*, 4 ff.) in the manner whereby Arthur, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, became the son of Uther Pendragon. In MS F. f. I. 27 of the Public Library of Cambridge the Nennian account of the Arthurian battles ends with the following statement:⁴

Arthur latine translatum sonat ursum horribilem vel malleum ferreum quo confringuntur molae leonum; *mab Uter britannice, filius horribilis* latine, quoniam a pueritia crudelis fuit.

Granting that Geoffrey was acquainted with a manuscript of this family, why did he interpret or misinterpret *mab Uter* as 'son of Uther'? The best answer given to this question is by J. Loth (*Revue celtique* 49 [1932], 138; cf. Vendreyes, *loc. cit.*, 48, p. 410), who argues that Geoffrey, knowing the name of Uther Pendragon as that of a great magician in Welsh legend, made the identification in order to give the British king, as was suitable, a supernatural father.⁵ One might add the large number of 'toponymic' stories,

⁴ MS 139 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, contains the same passage, but on its margin, not in the text.

⁵ The subject of misinterpretation should not be dismissed without a reference to Professor Tatlock's fascinating discussion of St. Amphibalus in Geoffrey (see *Essays in Criticism*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1934). In the *editio princeps* (1525), Gildas—who was Geoffrey's source—reads: *sub sancto abate Amphibalo*; but the correct reading, according to earlier MSS, is: *sub sancti abbatis amphibalo* 'under the

current in Ireland and Wales, in which the object of the tale is to explain how a name became attached to a place, as the cairn bearing the footprint of Cabal in Arthur's hunt of the *porcus Troynt* (W. *Twrch Trwyth*), or a place to a person, as the association in the Mabinogion of Annwn with Pwyll (Geoffrey's Pellitus).⁶ In short, there are many factors to be considered in explaining an Arthurian name, and the positive, 'phonological' factor—fundamental as it should be in all cases—is only one of the many reasons for the particular form an Arthurian name may take.

With these observations in mind, let us now revert to the names of Arthur's battles given by Nennius. Lot's text reads (p. 194):

Secundum et tertium et quartum et quintum [bellum] super aliud flumen quod dicitur Dubglas et in regione Linnuis (var. linuis, inniis).

W. J. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names in Scotland* (p. 457) identifies *Dubghlais*, W. *Dulas* (in L. Land. *Dubleis*, *Dugleis*), meaning 'black stream,' with Eng. Douglas—a frequent river-name in England.⁷ As for Scotland, "Douglas Water," says Watson, "enters Loch Lomond north of Luss, and another, from Loch Sloy, has its confluence at *Inbhir Dhubhghlais*, Inveruglas, near Arrochar. . . . Another enters Loch Fyne on the west; there are besides Douglas Water in Lanarkshire and Douglas Muir in Milngavie." As Crawford, one of the latest writers on Arthur and his battles (*Antiquity* IX [1935], 277-91) correctly states, "without some clue, identification is therefore hopeless." But then there is Nennius' *in regione Linnuis*, and following a suggestion by Professor Kenneth Jackson—now of Harvard University—Crawford thinks *Linnuis* might stand for *Lindenses*, "just as Cludwys stands for Clotenses, the people of Strathclyde, and Rhedewys (Recentenses), the men of Rheged." Since the names of a country or city and those of a people

chasuble of the holy abbot.' Gildas, as Tatlock makes clear, was rather addicted to the use of unusual words; and *amphibalus* is not a familiar word. "It is never found in either classical Latin or Greek. Apparently a popular etymologized form for *ἀμφιμαλλος* ('something woolly to be thrown about one'), it came to be understood as 'something to be thrown about one,' even as a rare synonym for *chasuble*." In any case, it furnished Geoffrey with the name of his saint.

⁶ On all this, see *Perlesvaus*, II, 142-43 and 192-93.

⁷ See Ekwall, *English River-Names*, 129-33.

are interchangeable (cf. "Paris"), Linnuis can be connected with *Lindensia*, the region north of Lincoln;⁸ on which see further Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, pp. 411 ff. Phonologically, the argument is sound. The great difficulty, however, is that *Lindensia* has no trace of a river Douglas, and Nennius places the battle *super flumen Dubglas*.

Turning back to Lot (p. 68), we find this statement:

La véritable identification n'est pas difficile à faire: il s'agit de l'Upper ou du Lower Douglas, qui se jettent dans le Loch Lomond, tout près de Dunbarton, chef-lieu des Bretons de Strathclyde, et la *regio Linnuis* est le Lennox (cf. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, p. 53, and *Celtic Scotland*, I, 153).

In view of this categorical explanation, it must be said that the name Lennox appears in Ptolemy as *Lemannonois Kolpos* ('Lemanonian Gulf'), and, according to Watson (p. 119), a Lennox man is *Leamnach*; indeed, "the Lennox men are still *Leamnaich* in Gaelic." The root here is a Celtic word **lem-* 'elm tree' (Lat. *ulmus*), which, according to Jackson, "appears in Irish and Scotch Gaelic with the short grade ē, and in British with the long grade ē (from *ei*). One can distinguish various derivatives: among them one with an *-an-* suffix. * * From this **Leman-* base there was a Goedelic adjective, which as a common adjective would mean 'elmish,' 'of the elm,' etc., but as a name would be 'man of elm-land' or 'man of Lemanis.' From this comes the Irish and Scotch *Leamnach*, the plural of which in Scotch Gaelic is *Leamnaick*, meaning 'Lennox men' and therefore 'Lennox.'" Ptolemy's form is a derivative with an *-n-* suffix (cf. Greek *λακεδαιμόνος* in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Sparta*), -onios being a very widespread adjectival ending. The noun for *Leman-onios* would be **Leman-onia*, that is 'elm-land.'

While it appears clear then that the ending *-uis* of *Linnuis* or *Linuus* cannot represent the *-ach* or *-ox* of Lennox, and the derivation given by Crawford (from *Lindenses*) is preferable on linguistic grounds; Lot's and Skene's derivation should—in my opinion—not be ruled out. It accounts for both the river and the region, and the ending *-uis* may reflect Ptolemy's *-onios* through a substitution of (or a corruption with) Lat. *-ensis*.⁹ But, in neither case, is the

⁸ Or indeed with *Lindum Colonia* or Lincoln itself.

⁹ On the distribution of *-ensis*, PL. *-ēsis*, see Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, II, § 473; Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 24; Nyrop, *Gram-*

battle in question placed in the South; Lindensia is adjacent to the territory (on the Humber) south of York, and Lennox is in Scotland.

On *cat coit Celidon* the seventh battle placed in the 'forest of Caledonia,' see J. Loth, "Les formes celtiques du nom des Calédoniens," *Revue Celtique*, 47 (1930), 1 ff.

Octavum fuit bellum in castello Guinnion (var. *guinnon*, *guinon*, and *gunnon*). Here again Lot (p. 69) is very positive: "cette localité répond certainement au *Vinnovium antique*." Crawford, much more cautious, says: it "has been attributed to the Roman fort of *Vinovia*, *Binchester*, near *Bishop Auckland*, co. *Durham*; but it is said *Vinovia* would become *Gwynwy* [see below]. The readings in the manuscripts of *Nennius* are very variable, and one feels that the identification should not yet be entirely rejected." Crawford's skeptical attitude was doubtless inspired by the opinion of Professor Jackson, who on enquiry writes me as follows:

A Romano-British *Vinovia* or *Vinovium* would give in Old Welsh *Guinui*, which might be spelt *Guinoi* or *Guinoy* also; in later Welsh this would be *Gwinwy* or *Gwynwy* according to the length of the first vowel—the former is more probable. For the termination, compare Romano-British *Conovium*, the Welsh *Conwy* (Old Welsh would be *Conui*).

Guinnion, on the other hand, can come only from *Vindion-* or *Vinnion-* with some suffix; perhaps *Vindionum* or *Vinnionum*, a genitive plural of an unknown tribe-name **Vindiones* or **Vinniones*—a name quite hypothetical.

To this I might add that the Ordnance Survey map of Roman Britain records a number of names in *vind-* signifying 'white' (Watson, 32): *Vindolanda* and *Vindobala* on Hadrian's Wall, and *Vindogara* directly south of it. The problem is, therefore, the ending *-ion* as against *-ui* or *-oi*. Perhaps *Vindolanda* 'white enclosure' occurred in a Latin form as *Castellum Vindionum* 'fort of the *Vindiones*' if such a tribe existed. The problem can be solved only by taking into account the *castellum* or 'fort' to which the text refers, and there *Vinovium* still has in my estimation the advantage of the other names mentioned. If the question of the double *-n-* is raised, it can be met by the variant form (*guinon*) for *Guinnion* or by other examples of *-nn-* for *-n-*. Possibly there was a form *Vin[n]onum*, which by metathesis became *Vin[n]ionum* (cf. above, *Loëneis* and *Lëoneis*); but that again is mere conjecture.

maire historique, III, §§ 279-80. As Brugger observes (*MP* 38, 283), the ending "-ois[-uis]" is very common in geographical names."

On the tenth battle, *in litore fluminis quod vocatur Tribuit* (var. *Trahtrevroit* and *Traethevroit*), see now Crawford, pp. 287-88. He thinks the MSS indicate that the proper name consisted of two elements, *tri* and *frut*, the latter of which "occurs in Camfrut, Guenfrut, Frut mur, and in the modern names of many English streams." The place is mentioned, he thinks, as *Trywruid*, in the Black Book of Carmarthen (see Skene, *Four Anc. Bks.*, I, 262, 263, 368; II, 3, 51-53, 321, and 351). He concludes: "the site was certainly in the north, in the Gododin region."—All this would be convincing, especially as the variants for *Tribuit* look like an effort at the *Traeth* (ev) *Trywruid* of the Black Book. But, as Professor Jackson observes, the *b* of *Tribuit* represented a *v*-sound in Old Welsh¹⁰—the word was pronounced *trivruid* with *-ui-* like 'Lewis,' whereas **Trifrud* would have been *trifrud* with *-ud* like 'good'; and in no case would the name for 'stream' be spelt with a *b* in Old Welsh. Thus, again, we are confronted with a doubtful "phonological" explanation, although the identification with *Trywruid* seems clear.

A name which lies outside of the Nennian list but which merits consideration is *Camlann*. The reader will remember that it occurs in the *Annales Cambriae* (Harleian MS 3859) under the year 537. On the first element of the name, see *Perlesvau* II, 196 ff., where it is treated in connection with Camelot or Camaalot, Romano-British *Camalodunum* or *Camulodunum* (Colchester, in Essex). It is quite common in Old Celtic words and is derived from *cambo* 'curved' or 'crooked.' As for the second element, Crawford takes it from *landa* (e. g., *Vindolanda* 'white enclosure,' referred to above), later *lanna*, an 'enclosure,' represented by the modern Welsh *Llan-* (frequent in Arthurian names). Crawford says (289): "it is possible to equate *Camlann* with *Cambogianna*. The place is a fort on the wall of Hadrian, and was the starting place of a Roman road running north beyond the wall to Bewcastle and doubtless terminating there."

I agree that "the name has nothing to do with the Camels of Somerset or Camelford in Cornwall"—despite Professor Brodeur's arguments to the contrary (*University of California Publications in English* 3, No. 7, pp. 282-83), and I add Jackson's comment that "in earlier Old Welsh one would expect the spelling *Camglann*,

¹⁰ This is corroborated by Loth, *RC* 39 (1922), 235.

pronounced with spirant *g* as in German *lage*; but in later Old Welsh this spirant was already lost, so that *Camlann* represents exactly the pronunciation in the tenth century, when the *Annales Cambriae* were probably put together."

If Crawford's identification is correct, we have in it another testimony to the hypothesis that the Arthurian legend began in the North in proximity to the Roman fortifications erected by Hadrian. "The historicity of [Arthur]," says Collingwood (*op. cit.*, 321), "can hardly be called in question. The fact that his name in later ages was a magnet drawing to itself all manner of folk-lore and fable, and that an Arthurian cycle grew up composed partly of events transferred from other contexts, no more proves him a fictitious character than similar fables prove it of Alexander or Aristotle, Vergil or Roland. It tends rather to prove the opposite." The question is: Where was his activity located? The evidence seems to me to show that it was in the North.

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'MR. HOWARD AMUSES EASY'

It is a well-known characteristic of verbal usage in English that transitive verbs may be used intransitively in a so-called passive reference: 'Don't *stretch* the curtains'—'the curtains have *stretched*'; cf. also 'the soap *dissolved*', 'the paint *peeled*', 'the fog *lifted*', etc. Such examples represent an established procedure in the language and could be multiplied by the score: in general this possibility of extension is at hand whenever the transitive verb itself describes activity that is productive of a process (movement) that takes place (or may be thought of as taking place) without the direct, absolute control of an agent. Thus, in the case of soap *being dissolved* by hot water, we may subordinate the part played by the agent and think of the soap merely as *reacting* to causative activity, as entering into a process: 'the soap *was dissolving*.' But we could never say * 'the soap *was rubbing* [=was being rubbed] on the clothes,' for, when activity of this kind is involved, it is impossible to disregard the all-controlling rôle of the agent; the object-affected could become the subject only of a passive verb. On the other

hand, ‘my suede bag *has rubbed off* on my white gloves’ is quite possible: even though a human agent must have been ultimately responsible for the achievement of this process, he has not directly controlled it: he has not ‘rubbed’ the bag on the gloves as he has the soap on the clothes.¹

According to the criterion just established it would be impossible to use the intransitive form of such a verb as *to add (up)*, for example, in order to describe the act by which figures are *added up* by a clerk (*‘in a few minutes the figures *added up*’). It is, however, quite possible to say ‘these figures *add up* to 100’ [= form a total of 100], for here we have to do with a purely *static* reference concerned with the nature of the subject. Though the speaker may have had to perform the activity of adding up the figures, in order to be able to make the statement ‘they add up to 100,’ this statement in itself describes, not the activity of this agent, but an attribute of the subject. Cf. also:

the package weighs 3 lbs.	the lines rhyme	this dress buttons in back
the cake tastes good	the suit fits nicely	her bonnet ties under the chin
the air smells spicy		the shoes fasten at the ankle
the carpet feels soft		

The verbs *taste*, *smell*, *feel* serve simply as copulatives;² with all the verbs alike the reference is static.

¹ Thus such intransitives as *to rub off*, *to dissolve* etc. represent only a “so-called” passive use; they are not the exact equivalent of passive forms.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the idea of ‘undergoing process caused by some agency or factor’ is regularly at hand with these intransitives; consequently this extension of transitive verbs must not be confused with the absolute use of transitives (e.g. ‘she *washed*’ [= washed herself—or, washed her clothes]; ‘they *kissed*’ [= kissed each other]), for here we have to do with the idea of *performing*, rather than of *undergoing*. Yet Jespersen, in his detailed discussion of “Transitivity” (*MEG.* III, 319-55) dismisses this distinction as “of no great significance” (p. 320).

² One also hears in vulgar speech ‘the cake *eats* good,’ ‘the beer *drinks* good’; these expressions are old in the language, according to the *NED*:

one of our French wither'd pears, it lookeſ ill, it *eates* drily
(*Sh. All's Well*, I, 1, 176)

the wine . . . *drunk* too flat

(*Heywood, Woman Killed with Kindness*)

³ Quite similar are the intransitives *listen*, *hear*, as cited by Jespersen (p. 348-49):

That doesn't *listen* so bad. Sounds racy (Lewis MS 209)
his letters *read* stark and bald as time-tables (Wister Grant 21)

But *to add up* may also be used intransitively, even in reference to activity by an agent (an activity which must of necessity be all-controlling)—*on condition that this activity is not represented as taking place*, as: ‘The figures made her cry. They *would not add up*’ (Di D 564).⁴ Compare also the following examples in which the reference is hypothetical: not passive activity but the *possibility* of such activity is described:

the book *would not translate well* (Wells M 48)

I am at a sentence that *will not write* (Barrie MO 133)

my plays *won't act . . . my poesy won't sell* (Trelawney R 19)

Let us . . . shew our fowlest wares, And thinke perchance they'd *sell*⁵
(Sh. Tro. I. 3. 360)

If I had anything that could sell or *pawn* for a little money

(Defoe Rox. 13)

We might put up two or three [big houses] and see how they *let*

(Kaye Smith T 159)

this filthy stuff will never *brush off* my bags (Kipl L 137)

the dirt *rubs off* [i. e. easily] (Merriman S 14)

if it [the coat] had been tighter, 't would neither have *hooked* nor *buttoned*
(Sheridan 322)

three or four swords . . . but they *won't draw* (Farquhar B 369)

when the matches refused to *strike* (McKenna SS 154)

a large Upham [cigar] that would *smoke* for a good hour

(Mackenzie PR 47)

Alabaster *cuts* very smooth and easy (Kaye Smith GA)

The various verbs above, used intransitively in a potential reference, have one general signification: the transitive verb describes a way

⁴ This example and those which follow may all be found in Jespersen (p. 347-49), listed (alphabetically!), together with others not quite homogeneous, in the eighth and final division (Activo-Passive Use of some Verbs) of his chapter on “Transitivity.”

⁵ This verb is not limited to a hypothetical reference; *to sell* has long been accepted as an intransitive with the meaning ‘to find purchasers,’ ‘to fetch a price,’ and may easily be used to describe selling that actually takes place: ‘his books *are selling, were selling, well*'; ‘this house *sold* for \$10,000’ (in such statements the agent, the merchant, is an anonymous, shadowy figure).

None of the other verbs above shares the elasticity of *to sell*, and yet Jespersen, in his discussion of the problem offered by the extension of “doublesidedness” to verbs “where it is not so natural to the meaning of the verb itself” (p. 350), speaks almost exclusively in terms of the one verb *to sell*. In this way he succeeds in explaining nothing about the type ‘my plays *won't act*.'

of realizing the potentialities of the object: serving to create or develop it; to dispose of it profitably, properly; to put it to the service of the agent.

In order to explain the development of what he calls “activopassive use” (i. e. as distinguished from the transitive-intransitive use of such verbs as *dissolve*), Jespersen appeals to the “double-sidedness” of the form in -ing:

This, like other verbal substantives (nexus substantives) is indifferent to the distinction between active and passive and may therefore be sometimes understood actively and sometimes passively (as in . . . Brontë W 234 she deserved *punishing* for *punishing* me). As will be said elsewhere, this resulted in the use of the expanded tense in a passive sense: the house *is building* [is a-building], what *is doing*? etc. Now this use of sentences like *the book is selling well* may have assisted in making people say *the book sells well*.

But this passage will not well bear analysis. It must have been noted that Jespersen suddenly changes examples on us: he begins with the gerundival combinations *is [a-]building*, *is [a-]doing* which illustrate supposedly the original stage, and, to prove his point, he should have continued with the statement: “these have now become *builds, does*.” He did not do so for the obvious reason that no such development has taken place: we are still saying ‘the ship *is building*'; ‘what's *doing*?—and *‘the ship *builds*,’ *‘what *does*? are impossible. Having dropped these two verbs in mid-air, Jespersen turns to the verb *sell*, noting that both forms, *is selling* and *sells*, are possible; he *implies* thereby that *is selling* represented originally a gerundival combination on the same level with *is [a-]building*: i. e., just as the latter meant ‘is on the build,’ so *is selling* would have meant ‘is on sale.’ But, according to the NED, there is no evidence of any such use of *selling*; instead, the infinitive was used: cf. *Abram to sell moght find na sede* (*Curs. Mundi*, 1300); *Wher such cloth was to selle, No ho it made, coude noman telle* (1370); one said originally, not ‘this book *is a-selling* but ‘this book *is to sell*.’ Thus, in the development which Jespersen postulates, the last stage has never come about for *build* and *do*; the first stage is unattested for *sell*.

In my opinion, the possibility of intransitive use in the case of verbs of the type *add, act, write, cut* is easily enough explained by the limitations attendant upon this use—by its restriction to a hypothetical reference. Even though the transitive verb itself

describes activity on the part of a human agent who completely controls reaction, still the activity is not presented as actually taking place, and the all-powerful Agent is apt to be only 'qui que ce soit.' This restriction Jespersen does not recognize.⁶ Nor does he note the fact that the transitive verb must always have the one general signification of 'putting the object to good use,'⁷ of realizing its potentialities. When such verbs are used intransitively (*alabaster cuts smooth*) the object-become-subject is represented as possessing in itself the capacity of functioning easily, of 'lending itself' docilely to the manipulation of an agent.

Indeed, in spite of the fact that he may be only hypothetical, the idea of an Agent is absolutely necessary for the implication of the verb; it is impossible to disregard the rôle played by the agent, for it is he who makes it possible for the subject to realize its proper function. This undoubtedly accounts for the frequency today in advertising of the potential intransitive: the suggestion of a hypothetical agent constitutes an appeal to none other than the potential buyer himself, whose existence is taken for granted and who is implicitly invited to test the capacities of the various commodities; and the inevitable reference of the intransitive (so long as it is affirmative) to efficient or profitable functioning, makes it a most appropriate construction for those who would cry the virtues of their wares. And so they claim that

*lingerie tubs quickly and irons easily
garments pack and unpack neatly⁸*

* He was unable to recognize this because of the fact that he had included in his list of examples a few verbs of process (*wear out, cook, digest*), and such copula-like verbs as *eat, drink, read*; neither of these types is limited to a hypothetical reference. Moreover, he chose as his key-verb the flexible *sell*, heading his final section with the phrase 'the book sells well'—an example which has nothing in common with the majority of those which he quotes.

— or, occasionally, the reverse meaning of (accidental) mistreatment. Jespersen gives no examples of this kind but it may be noted that the intransitive use of the two verbs *soil* and *rumple* is fairly frequent.

* Cf. also the negative type 'this dress *doesn't rumple, doesn't soil easily*'; instead of representing the subject as responsive to (proper) manipulation,

machinery <i>installs, operates, repairs</i>	easily
automobiles <i>steer and park</i> easily	
cream <i>whips</i> quickly	
paint <i>applies</i> evenly	bond paper <i>erases</i> neatly
nail-polish <i>removes</i> easily	linoleum <i>wipes off</i> easily

Such statements conjure up a utopian world where all the material and mechanical factors of our civilization ‘operate’ smoothly, easily, to the end that man shall be more comfortable—a world where the pass-word is “easy.”⁹ Thus the ideal of comfort characteristic of our age has found its grammatical reflection; if all verbs of manipulation could become hypothetical intransitives the world would be perfect!

There is undeniably a poetry in the conception of materialistic idealism which enables such expressions to flourish. But the expressions themselves are not touched with poetry; for the most part they would be scorned by the more creative and individualistic composers of advertising copy, who often achieve subtle and arresting stylistic effects. Such types as *the nail-polish removes easily* represent the garden-variety of advertising style; they are routine expressions of the trade, characteristic more of the mail-order catalogue than of *Vogue* or *Esquire*—characteristic, most of all, of the *Saturday Evening Post*.

the endorsement may deny that it will prove susceptible to *improper treatment*.

There are in all four common variations to be found in every-day speech:

(Recommendation) (Complaint or Warning)

1 a. The faucets <i>turn on and off</i>	1 b. The faucets <i>don't turn on and off</i> easily
2 a. This dress <i>doesn't rumple</i>	2 b. This dress <i>rumbles easily</i>

Obviously, it is only 1 a. and 2 a. that are to be met with in advertisements.

⁹The idea of an object docilely lending itself to manipulation is quite distinct from that of its working independently of an agent (as, for example, the functioning of an oil heater that automatically ‘turns [itself] off and on’). When an advertisement states that a certain paint *applies* evenly, there is no guarantee whatsoever that the buyer may leave paint and brush on the floor, go out to the movies, and return to find the paint applied. Such a verb takes for granted that the activity of the agent is necessary; it suggests ‘cooperation’ on the part of the paint, but not ‘independence.’

And yet—who knows but what the possibility of ambiguity is ever so slightly exploited in order to suggest a magical quality of performance: this paint *applies* so smoothly that the agent is hardly conscious of having to work himself!

So far we have taken it for granted that the intransitive use of transitive verbs in a hypothetical reference is limited to cases involving the reaction of inanimate objects: none of the examples so far considered has contained a reference to human behavior.¹⁰ But, in popular language, this reference is not excluded: during the last year I have become conscious of hearing over the radio (I have not yet seen it in print) the type, with variations, 'I don't *scare* easy.' In most cases the pattern has been rather elaborate: the verb, regularly descriptive of aggressive activity, is negative, and there is usually a double-beat arrangement: first the possibility of the subject's proving susceptible to such activity is postulated; then this is denied, emphatically and sarcastically. Cf.:

"they wanted to surprise me, (after a reference to the prediction that prizefighter A would knock out B)	but I don't <i>surprise</i> so easy" "But B won't <i>knock out</i> so easy" ¹¹
(after a reference to certain dictatorial persons who seek to push us around)	"But Americans don't <i>push around</i> easy"
(after a reference to the removal of the U. S. Marines from China, to avoid the danger of a possible mass- acre by the Japanese)	"But the U. S. Marines don't <i>mas- acre</i> any too easily"

Now the regularity of the 'denial' in these examples with animate subject would indicate that, in the case of *he won't knock out so easy*, we do *not* have to do with the negative form of *he knocks out easy*; rather, the intransitive use of *knock out* is possible only if this is negative. And if we assume that this new type is based upon expressions with inanimate subject then it would seem obvious that

¹⁰ Jespersen does include two passages in which a person is the subject of an intransitive: 'four babies, none of whom *photographed* well' (Wells V 71); 'one *transplants* badly at sixty-four' (Ward E 484). But in the first example there is no reference to personality; one could just as well speak of an object (or group of objects) as photographing well. In the second, personality is indeed involved, but we have to do with a simile in which a person is compared to a plant: neither *to photograph* nor *to transplant* is descriptive of behavior peculiarly human.

¹¹ This example represents the speech of a ring trainer, while the last two were spoken by political commentators. But it is undoubtedly *he won't knock out so easy* that should be accepted as revealing the social strata in which this type first arose—to be taken up later by the more literate.

it must be based upon a negative type. Two such types are common, 1 b. and 2 a.; the first (*the faucets don't turn on and off easily*) is out of the question, for it represents a complaint about lack of response, whereas *he won't knock out easy* is high praise. With 2 a. praise is implied: in *this dress doesn't rumple*, just as in *he won't knock out so easy*, the statement that the subject is capable of resisting destructive activity is offered as a recommendation.

And yet I do not believe that any such type as *this dress doesn't rumple* could have led to *he won't knock out so easy*. The first is much too tame: it amounts merely to a guarantee that the subject meets normal requirements, that it may be depended upon to withstand the wear-and-tear of every-day life. But much more than that is involved in *he won't knock out so easy*: this is no simple, straightforward recommendation to the effect that the subject will be found to be a satisfactory fighter, capable of coming through a bout still on his feet; this is indeed no matter-of-fact statement at all, but a bit of repartee highly charged with sarcasm, and concerned with rejecting an implication (“so they think he's gonna knock him out, huh? Well, they've got a surprise coming: I'm telling you he won't knock out so easy”). This dramatic negative type could hardly come straight from such a banal negative as *this dress doesn't rumple*.¹²

Perhaps *he won't knock out so easy* is not, after all, based upon a negative type; perhaps it goes back to the affirmative type met with so often in popular advertisements: *it erases easily, it turns on and off easily*. That is to say, it involves first the recognition, then the rejection, of the conception of docile easy response to manipulation. It is as if the speaker were saying: “there are gadgets that turn on and off easy; you can buy 'em in any store. But my man ain't one of 'em: he don't ‘manipulate’ so easy.” The obvious link between the two types is the key-word *easy*; *he won't knock out so easy*, which denies a postulated easiness, owes its humor

¹² Moreover, while the verbs *rumple* and *knock out* are alike in their reference to the infliction of damage, still *rumple* refers regularly to activity that is only accidentally destructive, whereas *knock out* describes deliberate attack.

What can perhaps be traced to the type *the dress won't rumple* is the expression ‘he won't kill,’ which, according to Holder informants, was current a generation ago in reference to someone who managed to escape unharmed from accidents.

to the implication of a parallel between human and mechanical reaction; it owes its forcefulness to the *rejection* of the parallel.

The time is ripe for such a development. The idea of easy response which is exemplified in the smooth functioning of the contrivances with which we are surrounded and which has found its syntactical reflection in the advertising formula *it turns on and off easily*—this has been deeply impressed upon the popular mind and has long been accepted as an ideal way for gadgets to work. But as this ideal becomes more and more perfectly realized in the world of gadgetry, so it becomes necessary to question it and to limit the sphere of its applicability: the line must be drawn between things and men. In *he won't knock out so easy* this line is drawn—and by a kind of syntactical feint: the intransitive construction characteristic of popular advertising is borrowed for application to human behavior; but the applicability is denied by the use of the negative. For there seems to be no affirmative type *he knocks out easy*: the negative denies a type that is non-existent—or that exists only at the moment of denial.

But this is not to say that the affirmative use of the hypothetical intransitive is excluded from any reference to human reaction: in the case of emotional reaction this construction is very probably at hand: 'he ain't no good, he *scares* too easy'; 'better be careful; she *shocks* awful easy.' Such types would repeat the motif of complaint or warning present with *this dress rumples easy*—with overtones of derision: the subject is censored for giving way too easily to fear and shock.

Subtly distinct from such an affirmative as *he scares easy* (which I have not heard but which sounds reasonable to me) is the expression *he amuses easy* which Mr. Clifton Fadiman coined during a broadcast of *Information Please*, on the occasion of the New York-London hook-up (Nov. 14, 1941). In New York were the "regulars," Messrs Kieran, Adams and Fadiman; in London, invisible to the master of ceremonies (and consequently, even less tangible to the radio audience than were the [unseen] trio in New York), were John Gunther and Leslie Howard, who manifested their desire to volunteer answers by the expedients of pushing a buzzer and tinkling a bell, respectively: there was a curious effect of two disembodied voices. This was especially true in the case of Mr. Howard, who seemed to find the whole program (including his own failures to identify Shakespeare passages) vastly comical: time and

again, after some comment in New York, an instant giggle from London would be heard; due to the rather peculiar circumstances, the impression was that of easy automatic response to a signal: the reaction of an automaton. And finally, after the fifth or sixth giggle from London, Mr. Fadiman was led to remark, “Well, I must say that Mr. Howard *amuses* easier than anyone I know.”

Such an expression distinguishes itself both from *he won't knock out so easy* and *he scares [don't scare] easy*: unlike the negative types it denies nothing; unlike *he scares easy* it is offered not as an indictment but as an (ironic) recommendation (‘how smoothly, effortlessly, instantaneously, the gentleman responds! He never fails.’). According to Mr. Fadiman himself, who at my request was kind enough to analyze his own coinage, *Mr. Howard amuses easy* was intended as a parody of the current syntactical trend represented by *he won't knock out easy*. The result, it seems to me, is a particularly subtle adaptation of the advertisement slogans; the heavy sarcasm which pervades *he won't knock out easy* gives way to a gentle irony that pretends to echo the complimentary implications of *it turns on and off easily*—that pretends to accept this as offering an ideal pattern for human reaction.

* * * * *

The new development represented by the use of the hypothetical intransitive with animate subject is simply one more illustration of the way in which the interaction between things and persons is recognized by syntax: the substitution *persona pro re* (as well as the reverse procedure *res pro persona*) is a general characteristic of human speech. As regards our particular American development (I know nothing of any parallel in “English” English), this is one that could arise only out of a civilization stamped with the ideal of mechanical perfection and material comfort; and it was in the trade ‘literature’ devoted to expounding this ideal that the pattern could flourish, that was to inspire our innovation—an innovation which constitutes a moral criticism of the ideal.

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CHAUCERIAN MINUTIAE

The following brief notes, here assembled after the fashion of a dimunitive Gordian knot, might with appropriateness be entitled "Chaucerian Puzzles" since each has to do with either a disputed passage or some intricate detail reflecting a disputed larger issue about which it seems impossible to draw now any final authoritative conclusions. Nonetheless I believe that in at least a few instances fresh data are offered which lead to the solution of, or which suggest a new approach to, several significant problems in Chaucer.

1. *Perkyn*

The discovery¹ of an *Indenture of Apprenticeship*, dated 1396 (between John Hyndlee of Northampton, Brazier, and Thomas Edward, son of Gilbert Edward of Wyndesore), suggests immediately a comparison with the incomplete *Cook's Tale*, which enumerates little more than the defections of the apprentice Perkyn Revelour. This *Indenture*—one of the oldest and most detailed extant—contains among others three important stipulations. First, the apprentice shall not absent himself illegally from his aforesaid service: "A servicio suo praedicto seipsum illicite non absentabit." Secondly, the goods and chattels of the said master John he shall lend to no one without permission: "Bona et catalla dicti Johannis magistri sui absque ejus licencia nulli accommodabit."² Finally, he shall not visit taverns, prostitutes, dice, and other similar games to the loss of time of his master: "Tabernam, scortum, talos, aleas, et joca similia non frequentabit, in dispendium magistri sui praedicti."

In turning now to the *Cook's Tale*, it is arresting to observe that Perkyn violated all of the three foregoing agreements. First, he absented himself from duties without permit: "Out of the shoppe thider wolde he lepe . . . he wolde nat come ayeyn" (vv. 4378-80). Secondly, this "joly prentys" freely expended his master's substance: "and thereto he was free / Of his dispense, in place of

¹ C. S. G., "Indenture of Apprenticeship, Temp. Ric. II," *Archaeological Journal* (London, 1872), XXIX, 184-85.

² One early record states that the apprentice is not to steal his master's goods by sixpence in the year; see E. Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England* (London, 1920), p. 281.

pryvete / That fond his maister wel in his chaffare" (vv. 4387-89). Finally, "He loved bet the taverne than the shoppe" (v. 4376), for certainly he was "a prentys revelour / That haunteth dys, riot, or paramour" (vv. 4391-92). There is thus no lack of evidence that Perkyn broke the covenant with his master.

Accordingly, after he had "his papir soghte" (v. 4404), the master in the *Cook's Tale* gave acquaintance to Perkyn, who was "ny out of his prentishood" (the term is seven years in the *Indenture*). Now Professor Robinson glosses "his papir" as "perhaps his account book."³ But the allusion seems to be to the indenture, or deed of mutual covenant, between the two parties, which two copies in early days (the first dates from c. 1304) were written on one piece of parchment or paper cut asunder in a serrated line so that when brought together the two edges fitted and showed they were parts of one original document.⁴

It remains to note that although Perkyn was almost criminally negligent, the penalty for infractions of the rules was distinctly not always permanent expulsion. This of course may have been the reading in the aforesaid "papir"; but in the *Indenture* of 1396 it is only stated:

And if the said Thomas shall fail to carry out any of his agreement, or in any prescribed article, he shall make satisfactory amends to his master John according to the kind and enormity of his crime, or else the aforementioned term of his apprenticeship will be doubled, duplicating his set term of service.⁵

Moreover the master-craftsman was himself bound to the covenant and was largely responsible, as is well known, for the moral upbringing of his charge. In any case, the agreement between the descriptions in the *Cook's Tale* and this contemporary historical record attests to Chaucer's superb realism.⁶ If in the completed narrative

³ F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 792.

⁴ *NED*.

⁵ "Et, si praedictus Thomas de aliqua convencione sua vel articulo praescripto defecerit, tunc idem Thomas juxta modum et quantitatem delicti sui praefato Johanni magistro suo satisfaciet emendam aut terminum apprenticesatus sui praedicti dupplicabit, iterando servicium suum praefixum."

⁶ For further evidence that Chaucer was fictionizing contemporary persons and events, see Earl D. Lyon, "The Cook's Tale," in W. F. Bryan and G. Dempster (eds.), *Sources and Analogues* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 148-54.

Perkyn was returned to his apprenticeship, it is significant that the plot would appear to involve the "expulsion and return" motif of the *Tale of Gamelyn*, which in a number of MSS follows the Cook's fragment.

2. A Crowned A

On the gold brooch of the Prioress (*Gen. Prol.*, vv. 161-62) "there was first write a crowned A, / And after *Amor vincit omnia*." As noted by Professor Lowes,⁷ a crowned letter as a contemporary royal emblem was hardly unconventional; e. g., Edward III wore a crowned ^{*}E and his Phillipa a similarly crowned ^{*}P. Among the badges and devices on the Parliament Robes of Richard II and his Anne in the effigies in Westminster Abbey appear both the crowned ^{*}R and ^{*}A.⁸ But these instances are inapplicable to the Prioress: she was not of royal lineage and besides "she was cleped madame Eglentyne."

In the first line of Lydgate's *Complaint for My Lady of Gloucester* in Shirley MS Trinity College Cambridge R. 3. 20, Miss Hammond⁹ interpreted the lettering as a sort of compound capital of a fused M, A, and R topped by a crown, and in 1904 she regarded this as possibly an anagrammatic Maria. Further study of Shirley MS Ashmole 59 (Bodleian), and consideration that in the Trinity MS the letter stands where an A is expected, led her in 1907 to declare in favor of a crowned ^{*}A, or a fusion of the lettering in *Amor*.¹⁰ But it is not at all certain that John Shirley meant either Maria or Amor, for the questioned letter in Ashmole appears on verso of the flyleaf as follows: "A + JOYE + ^{*}A + SHIRLEY + +."

Significantly enough, this same phraseology appears in the Mostyn MS (Bodleian) of the Herald of Chandos' poetical narrative on the Black Prince, and the first owner of this MS was no other than the scribe Shirley. On recto of the first flyleaf occurs the identical large lettering noticed above: "MA + JOYE + ^{*}A + SHIRLEY + +." This decorative capitalizing seems nothing more than

⁷ *PMLA* (1908), xxiii, 285 ff.

⁸ Mary G. Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and France* (London, 1939), pp. 134-35.

⁹ *Anglia* (1904), xxvii, 393.

¹⁰ *Anglia* (1907), xxx, 320.

John Shirley's abbreviated inscription of MS ownership¹¹—"Ma
joye; a Shirley"; i. e., "My joy; it belongs to Shirley."¹²

3. *Elpheta*

The personages in the *Squire's Tale* Chaucer describes as the Tartar King Cambyuskan, his wife Elpheta, their two sons Algarsyf and Cambalo, and the daughter Canacee. The name Cambyuskan has been tentatively identified with that of Genghis Khan (1162-1227), founder of the Mongol Empire. All the other names are unexplained. The celebrated Kublai Khan had a grandson called Kambala, which closely approximates Cambalo. Canacee occurs in the tale told by Ovid and Gower and condemned in the *Man of Law's Prologue* (II, 77 ff.). Professor Robinson suggests that Elpheta and Algarsyf look like Oriental forms, and he comments that they are unlikely to have been invented by Chaucer.¹³

As for Elpheta, Professor H. B. Hinckley¹⁴ observed in 1908 that *Elfeta* (the peculiar spelling¹⁵ of the Hengwrt MS) is the name given a star in certain star-lists in Skeat's edition of Chaucer's *Astrolabe*.¹⁶ In 1928 Professor J. M. Manly announced that "My own view is that Chaucer found the name in some list of the principal stars";¹⁷ and in 1940 Manly made a final statement: "Chaucer possibly took the name 'Elpheta' from some list of the principal stars; it occurs in several such lists, e. g. in 'Liber Astronomicus qui dicitur Albion,' ascribed to Richard de Wallingford, abbot of St. Albans c. 1326 (MS Harley 80, f. 51a)."¹⁸

The possibility of literary, not astronomical, origin must be favorably considered inasmuch as Chaucer expressly states that he will proceed "as the storie telleth us" (v. 655). This statement

¹¹ It is thus interpreted by Sir Israel Gollancz in his unpaginated pamphlet on the Black Prince: "Ich Dene," London, 1921.

¹² In Chaucer's age lovers sometimes wore a crowned initial or abbreviation of the name of a beloved; but the Prioressse probably had no *amie*.

¹³ F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 822.

¹⁴ *The Academy*, I, 866.

¹⁵ For variant spellings, see J. M. Manly and E. Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), IV, 5.

¹⁶ *Chaucer Society Publications* (London, 1872), pp. xxxii ff.

¹⁷ *The Canterbury Tales*, p. 598.

¹⁸ Manly and Rickert, *op. cit.*, IV, 480.

has support from the suggestive analogues now known to exist for all episodes in the fragmentary narrative¹⁹. There thus seems good reasoning behind Professor Robinson's²⁰ recent summation: "Probably all four names (Elpheta, Algarsyf, Cambalo, and Canacee) come from an undiscovered source, or sources, of the *Squire's Tale*." But for at least Elpheta no occurrence in medieval literature except in Chaucer has been thus far discovered.

I may observe in this connection a second literary reference to Elphita, although the name is employed by a poet writing some fifty years after Chaucer's death. In a stanza of an untitled fifteenth-century *chanson* the Catalan Andreu Febrer²¹ alludes to an Elphita as follows—

Altra n i say en qui natur a mesa
(There is not there any other in whom nature has put)
Gentils faygos e morosa peruença:
(Gentle manners and lofty inclination:)
Don Yolant que b gaya captenença,
(Don Yolant, who with gay countenance)
Ab dolg squart mostra sa gran noblesa.
(And pleasing gaze, shows her great nobleness.)
Na Beatriz d'Anglesola a avança
(Lady Beatriz d'Anglesola advances)
Lossanament lost stranys aculhir;
(Graciously to receive the strangers;)
E Johana Pineda qui felhir
(And Johana Pineda, who is not inferior to any one)
No sab, ne nquer Elphita la de França.
(Not even to Elphita, the one from France.)

Repeated efforts have not enabled me to identify the Elphita here eulogized or to disclose a likely source for Febrer's information. However, Professor Orgel del Río, whose translation is quoted above, suggests the following answer to my appeal made through Professor R. S. Loomis: "As to the identity of the persons mentioned, I think that they are ladies of the court of Aragon and Naples in the XVth century. That of Johana Pineda is found in other 'courtier' poems of the same epoch."

¹⁹ H. S. V. Jones, "The Squire's Tale," in W. F. Bryan and G. Dempster (eds.), *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 357 ff.; my article, "The Genre of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*," *JEGP* XLI (1942), 279-90.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*

²¹ No. VII, as printed by Manuel de Montoliu, "Las poesías líricas de Andreu Febrer," *Revue hispanique*, LVII (1923), 52-53.

If in the early fifteenth century Elphita was already used as a proper name, it is altogether possible that this nomenclature was current in Spanish literary tradition at a period contemporary with Chaucer. To suggest a connection between Chaucer and Catalonia is by no means far-fetched since the poet's interest in Spanish affairs is well-known from the Monk's inclusion of *Petro-Rege Ispannie* among the tragical "Modern Instances"; and, inasmuch as the friend Oton de Graunson complimented in the *Complaint of Venus* was for some years imprisoned in Catalonia, Chaucer would have ready access to knowledge of Spanish culture from an experienced informant.²² It may be recalled that the Catalan Map of 1375 mentions the Sea of Sarra²³ (Sarray is Cambyuskan's capitol) and that for the episode of the flying horse in the *Squire's Tale* the common source of the related *Cléomadès* and *Méliacin* appears to be a Spanish version.²⁴ Finally, as for Eastern influence in medieval Europe, Moorish invasions of Spain would also seem best to explain the Oriental form of the name Elpheta.

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CHAUCER'S "BROKEN HARM"

A phrase which has puzzled editors of Chaucer is "broken harm," in the Merchant's Tale [iv (E) 1425].¹ The old knight planning to marry will have none but a young wife, because

thise olde wydwes, God it woot,
They konne so muchel craft on Wades boot,²
So muchel broken harm, whan that hem leste,
That with hem sholde I nevere lyve in reste; . . .

²² See my article, "The Two Petros in the 'Monkes Tale,'" *PMLA*, L (1935), 69 ff.

²³ J. M. Manly, "Marco Polo and the 'Squire's Tale,'" *PMLA*, xi (1897), 351.

²⁴ H. S. V. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-66.

¹ All references are to F. N. Robinson's *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Student's Cambridge ed. (1933). Abbreviated titles are those used in Tatlock and Kennedy's *Chaucer Concordance*.

² *Craft on Wades boot* is a puzzling phrase also; see Skeat's and Robinson's notes. It seems to mean the art of moving about swiftly—particularly

Robinson's note³ summarizes conveniently the present status of the question:

Broken harm, of uncertain meaning; Skeat explains it as "petty annoyances." Prof. Magoun (*Anglia*, LIII, 223 f.) cites the similar phrase "broken sorowe" in Skelton's *Magnificence* (ed. Ramsay, ETTS, 1908, I. 1587), of which the meaning is also doubtful.

Editors have taken *broken* to be a past-participial adjective from the verb 'break'; but it seems to me to be, rather, the infinitive of the verb 'brook,' to make use of, avail oneself of; and I would render lines 1423-6 as follows:

these old widows, God knows,
They know so much [adj.] cunning of Wade's boat,
So much [advb.] to make use of harm (or annoyance), when
they want to,
That I should never have any peace living with them.

This interpretation may be supported on grounds of form, grammar, and meaning.

As to FORM there is no difficulty. In its etymological note to *Brook*, *v.*, the Oxford Dictionary says:

The phonetic history is unusual; the OE *brúcan*, ME *bruken*, *brouke*, would normally have given mod. *brouk*; while the mod. *brook*, and Sc. *bruik* normally answer to a ME *bróken*, found already, as a by-form, in Layamon [cl205].

The form with *o* [appearing variously: *brok(e)n*, *brook(e)*] is well attested by quotations in the OD, Bradley-Stratmann D, Mätzner's AE Sprachproben; and in addition I have found many in the files of the Middle English Dictionary.⁴ There can be no question that

so as to get out of the way of trouble or blame. It seems almost the complementary art to that of making use of harm—with which we are here concerned.

³ *Op. cit.*, 819, col. 1.

⁴ By kind permission of the Editor, Prof. Thomas Knott, University of Michigan. The forms (combined here under the infinitive) are found as follows: *Brok(e)n*: cl325 Poem Times Edw. II, Percy Soc. 28, p. 16, st. 34; cl340 Cursor Mun., EETS, 59, I. 5881 (Vesp.); cl380 Sir Ferumb., EETS es 34, I. 463; cl400 Beryn, EETS es 105, I. 66; 1421 Lydgate Prol. to Story of Thebes, Hammond, *Anglia* 36.366, I. 96; a1450? Wright's *Chaste Wife*, EETS, 12, I. 165; a1450? King Ed. & Shepherd, French & Hale, ME Metr. Rom. (1930), I. 551; a1450? Chester Pl., Adams, *Chief Pre-Shaks. Dramas* (1924), p. 134, I. 167. *Brooke*: a1470 *Hardyng Chron.*, Ellis (1812), ch. clxxx, st. 3.

from the early 13th. century onward, *broken* was one of the well known forms, though used less frequently than *brouken*. By Chaucer's day it had become fully established, and it is perfectly possible that we have an example of it here.

The MSS. do not reveal anything unexpected. For this instance (Mch. IV 1425), all those that have it agree on the spelling *broken*.⁵ This verb is used in Chaucer's works in four other instances,⁶ spelt, in the MSS. which I have been able to see, *brouke* usually, *browke* occasionally, and *brooke* once.⁷ This frequency among the variant forms agrees with what the historical situation would lead one to expect, and the last instance (conveniently for our argument) is found spelt in all three ways. As the MSS. are generally clear at these points, there seems no reason to question or to prefer any of these spellings.

The GRAMMAR is quite regular. *Muchel* in l. 1423 is an adj.; in l. 1424 it is an advb. *Konne* takes two objects: *craft*, and *broken* (the infin. functioning substantively); and *harm* is the object of *broken*. This kind of construction is found often enough in Chaucer so that only a few examples need be given.

They konne . . . so muchel broken harm,
(auxil.) (advb.) (infin.) (obj.)

First, an exact parallel from the same tale:

He may not sodeynly wel taken keepe [IV (E) 2398]

In others the word order is different, but the construction is the same:

I kan noon harm of no womman divyne. [NP. VII 3266]
muchel oghte a man to drede swich a juggement, [X (I) 160-5]

Last, a parallel to the whole passage, with the auxiliary functioning in two different clauses, and with *moche* used in the first as an adj., in the second as an advb.:

⁵ Manly and Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (1940), vi, 407.

⁶ NP VII 3300; Mch. IV (E) 2308; HF 273; LGW F 194. Only the first two of these are in Manly and Rickert, *op. cit.*; some of the variant readings of the other two may be found in *A Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc., 1st. ser., 21, 57, 58, and in *A Supplementary Parallel-Text Edition . . . etc.*, Chaucer Soc., 22, 59.

⁷ The first three instances generally have *brouke*, a few MSS. having *browke*; the fourth has *browke* generally, 2 MSS. have *brooke*, BM Addit. 9832 has *brooke*.

Hyt shal doon us as moche good,
 And to oure herte as moche avaylle
 To counterpeste ese and travaylle, . . . [HF. 1748-50]

This new interpretation is a stylistic improvement also. For if *broken* is taken as an adj., the phrase *whan that hem leste* can only modify *konne*, which is far from it, and makes the phrase appear rather like a versifier's tag. However, when *broken* is taken as an infin., the phrase *whan that hem leste* closely modifies it, giving compactness to the whole, and strengthening the hinting quality of *broken*.

This last, of course, is a matter of MEANING, and in this respect the new interpretation is surely the better. The whole weakness of Skeat's (the only positive one offered) is that while formally it raises no questions, the meaning is hard to accept. Even 'broken' in the sense of 'intermittent' might have been better. But 'brook,' 'avail oneself of, make use of,' so well strengthens the idea of *craft*, and suits so well with *whan that hem leste*, that the whole passage acquires the knowing, worldly-wise quality that the context demands, and that we know as Chaucerian.⁸

Finally, what about the similar phrase from Skelton pointed out by Magoun? He uses it to question Skeat's "petty annoyances" and the gloss given by Ramsay to the passage from *Magnificence*, and to destroy the suggestion of Dyce, earlier editor of Skelton, that *broken* there is an infinitive (of an unidentified verb) meaning to 'tame,' 'assuage.' But he does not claim to have cleared up the passage himself; he hesitantly suggests 'heavy' or 'grievous.' I am afraid there is no more lexical support for this suggestion than for that of Dyce, and while it may bring better sense into the Skelton passage (in which, by the way, the exact meaning of *sorowe*

⁸ Chaucer's recognition of the value of the 'nuisance' one can make of oneself is a delightful part of this worldly-wisdom. The Wife of Bath [III (D) 384 ff.] was aware of it too. But one anticipation of *broken harm* is so striking as to be worth quoting:

schrewes, whan hem list to usen hir strengthe, they reioyssen
 hem to putten undir hem the sovereyne kynges, . . . [Bo. I. m. 5 51-4].

Januarie, the old knight, may well have had this kind of passage in mind, for he has just been quoting 'Theofraste' and other 'clerkes' who are cynical about marriage. He may be ruminating how the sovereignty of a husband can be subdued by 'thise olde wydwes' who know so well how to use 'harm, whan that hem leste.'

is not too clear), it fits less well the sense of the Chaucerian. Can the Skelton passage really be taken as parallel to Chaucer's? There is reason to doubt it. If, as Magoun suggests, Skelton was here consciously echoing Chaucer, one may wonder how well he had understood this phrase. He may have echoed its form, but not its clever implications of meaning.

The interpretation here offered of Chaucer's *broken harm* is not only perfectly possible on all grounds, but in illuminating the meaning it seems preferable to the hesitant and questionable interpretations given up to now.

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NOTES ON VERNER'S LAW IN OLD NORSE STRONG VERBS

In discussing the operation of Verner's Law in the preterite plural of ON strong verbs Prokosch says: "Class I offers no evidence, in class II there are 3 verbs which show the change (*kiōsa*, *friōsa*, *flyia*, in the older language or poetry *kørom*, *frørom*, *flugom*). In class III *finna* has change."¹ Prokosch could have enhanced the value of these statistics if he had pointed out the probable influences which prevented the results of Verner's Law from being leveled by analogy. These influences are fairly clear in the case of class II and therefore could have been mentioned without undue digression. The case of *finna*, class III, is more doubtful.

As regards class II it is clear that the forms *kørom*, *frørum* stood under the influence of the reduplicating verbs such as *rørom* (inf. *rōa* with original *r*), *sørom* (inf. *sā* with original *s*), as the back-formations *køra*, *frøra* (cf. *røra*, *søra*) prove. Furthermore, an OIcel. form *kurum* (with analogical *u*) also occurs, which Prokosch does not mention. The *r* here was preserved probably after the pattern of the phonetically correct form *kørom*.

As regards the form *flugom* from *flyia* 'to flee' the *g* was retained probably under the influence of the form *flugom* from *flūga* 'to fly.' This is all the more likely in that the preterite singular form

¹ E. Prokosch, *Comparative Germanic Grammar*, p. 185.

of both verbs was identical (*flō*). In regard to the OHG form *fluhun* Prokosch (183) says: "On account of OE *flugon* we may safely assume that it formerly showed the change." To OE *flugon* he could have added ON *flugo*.

As regards the preterite plural form *fundom* (later leveled to *funnom*) of class III the retention of *d* (< **ð*) in the earlier language is harder to explain. According to Larsson's *Ordförrådet i de älsta isländska handskrifterna* (88) only the form *fundo* (with *d*) occurs in the oldest MSS, whereas the form *fiðr* (= *fiðr*) already occurs beside *finnr*. This fact indicates that the form *fundom* was not leveled to *funnom* until after the time (ca. 1000) when *finnr* had become *fiðr*. It is, therefore, possible that the leveling of *fundom* to *funnom* was retarded by the fact that the *d* (< **ð*) in *fundom* was felt as corresponding to the secondary *ð* in *fiðr* (cf. *fundom: funnom, fiðr: finnr*).

In regard to class V Prokosch says (*loc. cit.*): ". . . as in West Germanic, *siā* has *sōm* in the preterit plural" and adds (186) as a footnote: "But in East-Norse (OSw.), the pret. pl. *sāgho*, with analogical grammatical change, is found, later transferred to the sing., *sāgh* for *sā*; cf. Sw. *såg*, *sågo*." This statement might be improved. In the first place, ON *sqm* (*sōm*) is on a level with WGic. only in the case of the *hw*-forms (OHG-OS *sāhum*), but not in the case of the *gw*-forms (OE *sēwom*, *sēgom*; OS *sāwum*). In view of the *gw*-forms in WGic. I can see no reason for attributing to OSwed. *sāgho* (= ONorw. *sāgo*) "an analogical grammatical change," unless the WGic. forms are likewise analogical. The ON contracted form *sqm* < * *sāhwum* may be explained as due to the influence of the past participle form *sēnn* < * *sehwan-*. The *hw*-form of the past participle was probably due to the influence of the present system because of the same radical vowel *e* (i. e., * *sehwan-aR* > *sēnn* after the pattern of * *sehwan* > *sjā*). This assumption is confirmed by the example of OHG *gisēhan* which displaced *gisēwan* because of the influence of the infinitive form *sehan*; hence OHG *sāhum* = ON *sqm*.

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REICNE FOTHAID CANAINNE

About thirty years ago, Kuno Meyer published a poem entitled the *Reicne*¹ of Fothad Canainne from MS. B. IV, 2 in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.² Apart from this MS., no other codex apparently has preserved a complete copy of the poem in question.³ Since MS. B. IV. 2 was written as late as 1628 by Michael O'Clery, whereas the actual poem itself must have been composed in the Old Irish period,⁴ the span of time between the date of composition and O'Clery's transcript is sufficiently great for successive scribes to tamper with the original text and thereby introduce numerous corruptions. As a result, the meaning of many passages is hard to determine. That Meyer was, therefore, able to make such an adequate rendering despite the handicaps under which he was laboring deserves the warmest praise. He, however, was the first to recognize the shortcomings of his translation, and shortly after the appearance of his edition, he printed a series of textual emendations.⁵ But since that time, very little additional work on the elucidation of this difficult text has been undertaken, although a few scholars, such as Osborn Bergin,⁶ E. J. Gwynn⁷ and Joseph Vendryes⁸ have made notable contributions. Much, therefore, still remains to be done.

Among the many unsolved difficulties is the second verse of the nineteenth stanza. This with the preceding stanza is printed and translated by Meyer as follows:

¹ Since the precise meaning of *Reicne* has not as yet been established, no translation is given. It seems to denote a particular kind of poem, perhaps of an extempore nature; cf. *Hessen's Irish Lexicon*, II, 198.

² Cf. *Fianaigecht*, pp. 10 ff.

³ For a shorter version of the prose account preceding the poem as well as for another copy of the first stanza from MS. 9748 of the National Library of Ireland, see V. Hull, "The Death of Fothath Cananne," *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, XX, 400-404. The first two verses of the thirty-second quatrain also occur in a slightly altered form in W. Stokes's *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 317.

⁴ Note especially *tu . arnect* in the third stanza, where pretonic *do* is still represented by *tu* (*to*).

⁵ See *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, VIII, 599.

⁶ Cf. *Eriu*, XII, 204.

⁷ He has confirmed one of Meyer's proposed emendations; cf. *Revue Celtique*, XLVIII, 458.

⁸ See *Revue Celtique*, XXXII, 106-108.

18. *Comrao Mugairnd fri Mugna,*
Batar da c[h]uilen cholma,
Manis· tisedh fien forbar,
Ropad inir a congal.

19. *Fo· ce[i]rd a n·oman cach tuaith*
Cain dothfasuith Falbe Ruaidh,
Immus· apt[h]atar, gann gle,
Re c·ach ar nda deogbaire.

18. The combat of Mugarn with Mugna,—
 Two brave whelps were they;
 If the puissant *fian* had not come to them,
 Their contest had been dour.

19. It casts every tribe into dread,
 of Falbe the Red:
 Before all the rest our two cup-bearers
 Perished by each other's hand.*

With respect to the second verse of stanza nineteen, Meyer in a note¹⁰ says that he "can make nothing of *cain dothfasuith* which should contain a noun on which the gen. *Falbi Rúaid* depends." But an interpretation of this phrase is possible by dividing *dothfasuith* into two words, namely *doth* and *fasuith*, whereby alliteration is established between *fasuith* and *Falbe*.¹¹ Of these words, *doth* is a well-attested substantive signifying "brood, litter, offspring" which here obviously refers back to the *da c[h]uilen cholma* in the preceding stanza. If, therefore, *fasuith* is left out of consideration for the moment, *cain doth Falbe Ruaidh* could mean "the fair brood of Falbe Ruadh," which furnishes not only good sense, but also continues the figure of speech introduced in the foregoing quatrain where Mugarn and Mugna are called "two brave whelps." Moreover, this phrase would be the logical subject of *fo·ce[i]rd*, "casts, puts." Whether, however, *cain doth* is to be regarded as a compound or not is uncertain.¹² If *cain* is simply the attributive adjective, its position before the governing noun violates the normal word order in prose, but such inversions are permissible in poetry.¹³ Whichever solution may be the correct

* Meyer has purposely left untranslated the rather meaningless cheville *gann gle* which is approximately equivalent to the German "klipp und klar."

¹⁰ Cf. *Fianaigecht*, p. 19.

¹¹ Alliteration is, however, not consistently practiced in the oldest poems; cf. K. Meyer, *A Primer of Irish Metrics*, p. 10, § 21.

¹² Professor Myles Dillon suggested this possibility to me.

¹³ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 12.

one, the meaning of the passage, at all events, remains essentially the same.

Still unexplained, however, is *fasuith*, which is best construed as the genitive masculine singular of the *u*-stem adjective *fosuith* agreeing with *Falbe Ruaidh*. This adjective means "staunch, steadfast, firm" and is often used with reference to persons¹⁴ so that its employment here is not out of place. Like *cain*, it also precedes the substantive which it qualifies,¹⁵ but unlike *cain*, there can hardly be a question of its forming a compound with *Falbe*, since it presumably is intended to alliterate with that word. If, however, objection is raised that one expects *fosuith* instead of *fasuith*, it may be said in reply that accented *o* and *a* continually interchange in Old and Middle Irish,¹⁶ as may actually be seen by several examples in the *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* itself.¹⁷ Since *fosuith* later becomes an *i*-stem,¹⁸ it might also be argued that *fasuith* here modifies *doth* in view of the fact that in Irish poetry one adjective may precede and the other follow the substantive.¹⁹ But in so archaic a text that is not at all probable.

If, therefore, the foregoing analysis is accepted, the phrase *cain doth fasuith Falbe Ruaidh* signifies "the fair brood of staunch Falbe Ruadh" and is the subject of *fo·ce[i]rd a²⁰ n-oman cach tuaith*, "casts every tribe into dread." Such an interpretation, at all events, seems to fit the context and, at the same time, provides the genitive *Falbe Ruaidh* with a noun upon which it can depend.

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¹⁴ Cf. *Fianaigecht*, p. 48, § 14; E. Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, IV, 32, v. 28; G. Calder, *Togail Na Tebe*, p. 62, l. 983.

¹⁵ See note 13 above.

¹⁶ Cf. R. Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Altirischen*, p. 48.

¹⁷ For example, *fadbach* for *fodbach* in stanza 12, *cholma* for *chalma* in stanza 18, and *fadb* for *fodb* in stanza 23. Compare also *faglaid* for *foglaid* in Kuno Meyer's *Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands*, p. 5, § 2.

¹⁸ Cf. G. Calder, *Togail Na Tebe*, p. 377 s. v. *fosaid*; O. Bergin, *The Three Shafts of Death by Geoffrey Keating*, p. 55, l. 1669; P. S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhlige agus Béarla*, p. 483 s. v. *fosaidh*.

¹⁹ Cf. K. Meyer, *A Primer of Irish Metrics*, p. 12, § 29.

²⁰ Read *i*.

OF THE RACE OF CONAIRE MOR

Among the oldest texts in Irish is *De Síl Chonairi Móir*, "Of the Race of Conaire Mor," which was ably edited by Lucius Gwynn.¹ However, like many similar documents belonging to the earlier period of the language, it contains a number of problems which still await solution. One of these the late Professor R. Thurneysen solved.² Another one is *conachmoceth* which occurs in the following passage: *Bai carpat rig hi Temair no · gabtais de ech oendatha nad · ragabaitis riam fon carpat. Inti nad · airoemath flaithe Temrach, con · oc bath in carpat fris conachmoceth 7 con · cligtis ind hich fris.*³ This passage Gwynn renders: "There was a king's chariot at Tara. To the chariot were yoked two steeds of the same colour, which had never before been harnessed. It would tilt up before any man who was not destined to receive the kingship of Tara, so that he could not control (?) it, and the horses would spring at him."⁴

Here, *conachmoceth*, which should be read *conach · moceth*, is tentatively translated "so that he could not control it," but the difficulty with this translation, as Gwynn realized, resides in the fact that there apparently exists no verb beginning with an *m* which answers to that meaning. However, this difficulty vanishes if *m* is regarded as the eclipsis of a *b* so that the scribe should actually have written *conach · m · boceth*. Since *carpat*, "chariot" is masculine, the infixd objective pronoun referring to it would after a negative and the conjunction *co*, "so that" be expressed by the nasalisation of the following consonant or vowel. Before *b*, the homorganic consonant *m* is employed and the *b* is no longer pronounced. By omitting this *b*, the scribe has simply permitted himself a phonetic spelling, just as somewhat later in the same text he writes *in tocharite* for *in t · sochraite*, "the hosts" and *isin tith* for *isin t · sith*, "in the fairy mound."⁵

The verbal form here in question would, therefore, seem to be *· boceth*, which is the imperfect indicative third singular of *bocaid*, signifying primarily "softens," but apparently often used with reference to spears and similar objects in the sense of "shakes, vibrates, tosses."⁶ That the scribe had *bocaid* in mind is shown by

¹ *Eriu*, vi, 130 f.

² *Die irische Helden- und Königssage*, p. 621, n. 2.

³ *Eriu*, vi, 134.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁶ K. Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, p. 232.

two other passages in which it also occurs in collocation with a chariot. These are as follows:

a) *In cetna carpat i-tánic . . . bocais 7 bertnaigis imme.* "The first chariot into which he came, he tossed and brandished about himself." ⁷

b) *Bocais⁸ in carpat imme.* "He tossed the chariot about himself." ⁹

Whether, however, the meaning here assigned to *boc(c)ais* is really correct is not certain, despite the fact that in Modern Irish *bogaim* is also recorded in the sense of "I brandish, shake, rock, etc." ¹⁰ Since this verb is usually coupled with *bert(n)aigim* which once glosses *vibro*,¹¹ it is generally assumed that these two words are synonymous, but that assumption is not necessarily true. At all events, Gwynn's tentative rendering of *bocaid* by "controls" seems hardly right. If the primary sense is "to soften," then when applied to chariots, it should signify approximately "to render pliant or manageable" and, hence, perhaps "to manipulate, wield or handle." Some such meaning, at any rate, seems to suit the context in all three preceding passages. Though greater precision with respect to the sense is not possible, at least there can be little doubt regarding the form, for on the basis of the evidence cited above the verb can hardly be any other than *bocaid*. The emendation of *conachmoceth* to *conach·m-boceth*, therefore, seems so in keeping with the facts that no further justification is required.

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OE CHARM A 13: *BŪTAN HEARDAN BĒAMAN*

In the course of the really wonderfully explicit instructions how to render farm-land fertile, that make A 13¹ one of the most

⁷ E. Windisch, *Die altirische Heldensage Táin Bó Cúalnge*, p. 137, l. 1115.

⁸ A different MS adds: 'et bertaigis, "and brandished."

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 137, l. 1127.

¹⁰ Cf. P. S. Dinneen, *An Irish-English Dictionary*, Dublin, 1927, p. 106.

¹¹ W. Stokes, *Irish Glosses*, p. 138.

¹ Felix Grendon, ed., "Anglo-Saxon Charms," *The Journal of American Folklore*, XXII (1909), 172, A 13, l. 8; the same is available in an anastatic reprint by G. Stechert, New York, 1930. For a recent note on this same charm see L. K. Shook, *MLN*, LV (1940), 139-40.

remarkable and most fascinating of all OE charms, are described not a few steps whose significance is not yet altogether clear. To one of these difficulties an answer has, I think, now been found.²

At the outset we are told that four sods should be cut before dawn from the four corners of the lot of land to be improved, and, before anything further is done, that the underside (*stapol*) of each sod should be sprinkled with a fertilizing liquid. This is to be prepared from olive-oil, honey, yeast, the milk of each (kind of?) live-stock on the property, and is to include, *inter alia*, a bit of each kind of wood that grows on the estate *except hard wood trees* (*būtan heardan bēaman*).

The point of this exception seems to depend not on the character of hard wood trees but of their opposite, soft wood trees, which are to be used; in other words, the instruction is given negatively. Now the essential characteristic of soft wood trees is that they are conifers and mostly evergreen.³ The deciduous larch would be a conspicuous exception, but the larch was in pre-Conquest times unknown in England.⁴ In the present charm the soft wood trees are, I think, almost surely equated in fact and in the mind of the author with evergreen trees and are recommended here because of the inevitable association of evergreeness and fertility; that green is symbolic of vitality and youth is a commonplace.⁵

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THE CARBUNCLE IN THE ADDER'S HEAD

To illustrate the Gospel precept 'Be ye wise as serpents' in his *Confessio Amantis* (I, 463 ff.) John Gower makes use of an interest-

² For the essential point I am indebted to a former undergraduate student, Mr. David Kelleher, who made the pertinent suggestion immediately on hearing the charm read in translation. I do not attach importance to Grendon's note (*ed. cit.*, p. 220, n. 7) that hard wood did not need to be blessed. The process here at issue involves the assembling of a number of substances in one way or another symbolic of fruitfulness.

³ See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., xxii, 217A, under art. "Timber," and dictionaries under "hard wood" and "soft wood."

⁴ Joh. Hoops, *Waldbäume u. Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* (Strassburg, 1905), p. 266.

⁵ See, e. g., *NED* under "green," adj., 6.

ing bit of folklore.¹ It is the account of a "serpent which that Aspidis / Is cleded" whose forehead is studded with the very precious stone, the carbuncle.² To procure the gem, snake charmers seek to lull the adder into insensibility. However, the clever serpent lays one ear close to the ground, stops up the other with its tail, and thus, like Ulysses among the sirens, preserves itself from seduction.

Gower's editor, G. C. Macaulay, notes³ that the legend is founded upon Psalm lviii, 4, 5: "they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely." To St. Augustine,⁴ Macaulay attributes the first suggestion of the serpent's ingenious method of stopping her ears; but, the editor points out, to Isidore, bishop of Seville, who follows Augustine's account in the serpent section of his *Etymologiae*, the Middle Ages were indebted for their version of the legend.⁵ Macaulay might have cited, too, as a source, the description of the adder in the *Physiologus* which adds many details. The enchanter in this bestiary is able to approach the adder by casting before it successive trusses of dried plants upon which the serpent exhausts her fiery breath. Then, when the adder tries to stop her ears to shut out the blandishments of the charmer, he stretches forth a rod and separates her tail from her ear. The adder dies at once, and the enchanter "takes from her whatever he wishes."⁶

In Gower's version the carbuncle in the adder's head is a significant part of the story: it serves to motivate the attempts to charm and capture the serpent. Nevertheless, Macaulay fails to account for the snake stone. He merely notes that the versions by St. Augustine and by Isidore say nothing about it. It is not necessary, however, to assume that Gower himself improvised the carbuncle element in the story. Widespread and multitudinous are the

¹ This is repeated in the *Mirour*, II. 15253-15276.

² This designation, signifying literally "a glowing coal," was used for certain stones distinguished by their brilliant red color, such as the ruby and certain fine garnets.

³ "Notes," *The Works of John Gower* (Oxford, 1901), II, 468.

⁴ St. Augustine, "Expositions on the Book of Psalms," transl. Rev. James Tweed, *A Library of Fathers of The Holy Catholic Church*, No. 30 (Oxford, 1849), III, 107.

⁵ *Liber XII*, caput iv (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. 82).

⁶ *The Epic of the Beast*, translation of *Physiologus* (London [1924]), pp. 234-5.

references to the myth upon which the poet might have drawn. Like the Shakespearean toad which "ugly and venomous wears yet a precious jewel in his head," the fable of the jewelled adder was part of the folk and lapidary lore of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Plausible is the hypothesis that would connect the carbuncle in the adder's head of Gower's *Confessio* with the myth surrounding the jewel *dracontides*. The history of this stone reaches back into antiquity, but Gower could have learned about the gem from numerous mediaeval sources. First mention of the dracontides is that by Sotacus, a writer on mineralogy who flourished before the Macedonian conquest. According to Sotacus, who had himself beheld the jewel, the dracontides is to be found in the brain of the dragon.⁷ To capture the stone, men strew before the cave of the dragon medicated herbs that induce sleep. When the dragon has been rendered unconscious, the jewel is cut from his head. From Sotacus, Pliny borrowed the legend of the dracontides for his *Natural History*. The "dragon" described by Pliny is identified as a venomless serpent.⁸ Of the stone Pliny relates that unless the head of the snake is cut off while it is alive the stone will not assume the form of a gem; this, through spite on the part of the serpent when finding itself at the point of death. Hence, to insure the proper production of a precious stone, the head of the snake is cut off when it is asleep.⁹

The Greek Philostratus who lived in the second century details, in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, a more fanciful method of seizing the dragon stone as practised in the mountains of India. The Indians embroider golden runes on a scarlet cloak which they lay in front of the serpent's burrow. By means of the runes and mysterious lore sung to him, the dragon is charmed to sleep: the runes induce him to stretch his neck out of his burrow and fall asleep over them. This is the only way to overcome the eyes of the dragon which are otherwise inflexible. With their axes the Indians fall upon the sleeping dragon, cut off his head and despoil it of its gems.¹⁰

⁷ Charles W. King, *The Natural History of Precious Stones* (London, 1870), p. 53 n.

⁸ *Natural History*, v, 395.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vi, 447.

¹⁰ Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, trans. F. C. Conybeare (London, 1912), I, 245-247. See also, Edward Topsell, *The History of*

The tradition of Sotacus and Pliny is followed both in the account of the dragon stone of Ethiopia featured in the *Polyhistor* of Caius Julius Solinus, a writer of the age of Constantine, and in the encyclopaedic work of Isidore of Seville, the *Etymologiae*. The first of these, Solinus, quotes Sotacus on the method of rendering the dragon unconscious; and adds that it is necessary that the gem be removed while the serpent is still breathing, for just as soon as breath ceases the jewel disintegrates.¹¹ Isidore's work, which passed on to the Middle Ages the myth of the snake which could resist charmers,¹² also passed on the myth of the dragon with the jewelled head.¹³ The *Etymologiae*, a work of the seventh century, follows Solinus and Sotacus in detailing how medicated grass is scattered before the serpent's cave to induce sleep; and how, unconscious, the snake is beheaded and the gem removed. In the version of the legend given in the lapidary of Albertus Magnus composed in the thirteenth century, stress is again laid on the necessity of removing the stone while the dragon is still alive.¹⁴ A Greek lapidary, the *Kyranides*, translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the twelfth century, records that the hydra or water-serpent has a jewel in its head.¹⁵ The *Kyranides* is the source of the mediaeval fables of the unicorn and the jewelled toad-stone, which last Shakespeare immortalized.¹⁶

With the exception of the lapidary attributed to John Mandeville,¹⁷ later mediaeval lapidaries which record the myth of the dragon stone repeat with only minor variations the traditional details.¹⁸

Fourfooted Beasts and Serpents, ed. John Rowland (London, 1658), pp. 705, 707.

¹¹ Caius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, edited by Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1895), caput, xxx, p. 133.

¹² *The Etymologiae*, Lib. xii, caput iv (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. 82).

¹³ *Ibid.*, Lib. xvi, caput xiv, 7.

¹⁴ *Opera Omnia*, ed. Augustus Borgnet (Paris, 1890), v (Liber ii, Tract ii, cap. iv), 35.

¹⁵ Fernand de Mely, ed., *Les Lapidaires de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1902), Tome III, 136.

¹⁶ Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 18-19.

¹⁷ The attribution was due probably to Mandeville's fame as an authority on India and the East.

¹⁸ Chevalier Johan de Mandeville, *Le Lapidaire du Quatorzième Siècle*,

The legends of dragon-stones cited, detail the characteristics of the jewel adorning the serpent's head, but fail to identify the specific jewel. The precious stone in the adder's head described by Gower is, however, definitely specified as a carbuncle. In two mediaeval lapidaries, the *Alphabetical Lapidary*, and the *Peterborough*, we come upon positive identification of the dragon stone as the carbuncle. The *Alphabetical Lapidary* existed in numerous versions both in France and England, the earliest of which dates back to the twelfth century.¹⁹ The descripton of "Dracontides" is the traditional one:

Dracontides co est un nom
De pere qui vient de dragon;
Dracontides est nomee
Pur le dragon dunt est trovee;
Es charboucle ad nom en franceis . . .
Enchanteurs, par lui reisuns,
Issi enchantent les draguns,
Que il les funt ben endormir,
Puis lur vunt lur testes tolir.
Quant les testes lur unt trenchedes
Duncunt les peres desrainsnees.²⁰

This identification of the dracontides with the carbuncle is echoed by the *Peterborough* lapidary, which is without doubt merely an English transcription of the *Alphabetical Lapidary*. There it is affirmed:

Dracontidis is a stone, & it is in a dragones hed. Some men clepen him
escarbuncle.²¹

It is apparent from the evidence adduced that the passage in Gower's *Confessio* is either a confusion or a conscious combining of two legends, one dealing with a snake in whose head is imbedded a carbuncle, the other with a snake with a trick to nullify a charmer's incantations. In Gower's illustration of the Gospel text,

ed. Is. del Sotto (Vienna, 1862), p. 113; also, *Das Buch Der Natur*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer (Stuttgart, 1861), p. 444, par. 29; also p. 269, par. 10.

Lapidaries of the 15 and 16 century continue the legend. See Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, Appendix D, pp. 228-229; Christopher Entzelt, *de Re Metallica* (Frankfurt, 1551), Liber III, cap. xxxix, p. 223.

¹⁹ *Romania*, XXXVIII (1909), 53.

²⁰ P. Studer and J. Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries* (Paris, 1924), p. 229.

²¹ J. Evans and M. S. Serjeantson, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries*, EETS, O. S. 190 (1933), p. 85.

the first legend seems a gratuitous addition to St. Augustine's story of the snake that could not be seduced. It serves, however, the dramatic function of motivating that story, since it explains why conjurers seek to enchant the serpent: to secure the prized jewel. Of the many serpent-stone myths which might have inspired Gower, that of the dragon-stone seems most suggestive. Like Gower's adder-stone the dragon-stone was discoverable in the head of a serpent, was reputed to be a carbuncle, and was sought after by conjurers who tried to subdue the serpent to their will to secure the jewel. The charming of the serpent is the element common to both the legend of the serpent-stone and that of the crafty adder of St. Augustine, and might well have been the bridge which connected both stories in Gower's mind.

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TWO NEW CAROLS

(Hunterian MS. 83)

In a recent article in *MLN*¹ I listed seven carols not included in Dr. Greene's monumental collection. Of those unpublished, three will appear in my forthcoming *Secular Lyrics of the XIV & XV Centuries*; the remaining two fugitives, for the sake of completing the roster, are made available here. I am indebted for the texts of these pieces to my friend, Miss Beatrice H. N. Geary (of Leicester, England), who examined the MS. some years ago and obtained leave to publish it; on the outbreak of the present war, however, she handed over her transcriptions to me.

These two carols are found in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University, MS. 83 [*olim* T. 3. 21]: "Gabriell off hye degré" (f. iii^b) and "All heyle Mary and well þou be" (f. 21^a). The MS. was carefully described in the *Catalogue* of 1908,² but overlooked by both Brown and Greene. The carols, as well as a popular tail-rimed poem "Nowe well and now woo," are in the same late xv century hand; they are casually written, along with such miscellaneous entries as the names of the owners of the book and a list of

¹ "The Burden in 'Carols,'" *MLN*, LVII (1942), 16-22.

² *A Catalogue of the MSS etc.*, Young, completed by P. Henderson Aitken, Glasgow, 1908, pp. 88-9. The Hunterian MSS. are not at present available.

monarchs of the world, in the spaces left vacant by the main body of the text, John of Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*. The first carol is in the bolder and more careless script in which the scribe added the last stanza of "All heyle Mary." Noteworthy is the fact that the texts are provided with music, thus adding in a slight way to the scanty tangible evidence that the popular carols were meant to be sung. For whereas the words of 544 carols survive, the music of only 99 is known; or, excluding the xvi century MSS., only 41 out of 486 carols are found with music.³

"Gabriell off hye degré" is a variant of a text (Greene No. 239) found also in the minstrel manuscript, Bodleian 29734, and in Richard Hill's commonplace-book (Balliol MS. 354), in both cases without music. The Hunterian text agrees very closely with the Balliol, which itself combines features in the other versions, having eight stanzas against six in the Hunterian and seven in the Bodleian MS. The slips in the Hunterian text point to its having been written from memory or from oral transmission at some period. "All heyle Mary" is unique; the refrain, however, is similarly used in a Marian hymn.⁴ The music and words of the burden serve for the refrain, and both are written in the MS. in plainsong—actually the opening of the Introit in the Common of Festivals of the B. V. M.⁵ The texts offer no difficulties, and are presented without further comment.

f. iiib

Noua noua
Aue fit ex Eua

Gabriell off hye degré
he cam down from trinite
ffrom Nazareth to galile
Noua

I met a madyn in a place
I knelyd down a-fore hir face
And seyd heile mary ful of grace
Noua

1-2 One line in MS

The burden and vv 1-3 are written again with the music

³ MSS. Trinity Coll. Camb. 1230; Arch Selden B. 26; and Greene Nos. 239a-d, 144, 151B.

⁴ Brown, *Register*, No. 662; see also Greene No. 200.

⁵ *Liber Usualis*, Tournai 1932, p. 1091.

TWO NEW CAROLS

41

When þe maiden herd tell off this
 Sche was full sore abaschyd I-wys 10
 And wened þe sche had don a-myssse
 noua

Then seid the angell dred not þue
 ffor þe be conceyued wt gret vertu
 whoos name Schalbe called criste ihū
 Noua

It is not zit vj wekes Agoon
 Sen Eliȝabeth conceyved Iohn
 As it was prophysed be-forne
 Noua 20

The[n] seid the mayden verely
 I am youre seruaunt ryȝt truely
 ecce ancilla domini
 Noua

12 *Wt* struck through before *noua* (With *noua* is the refrain in the two other versions)
 18 Corrections by scribe from original reading *Sen sche was conceyved wt seynt—sche was* struck through and *Elizabeth* inserted above line, and *wt seynt* struck through and *Iohn* added at end of line
 21 *to* written above second *the*
 23 *Wt* struck through before *ecce*
 Throughout the riming lines are bracketed and refrain written at right

f. 21a

Salve sancta parens

All heyle Mary and well þu be
 Madyn & modere wt-outyn offens
 for thy suffren virginitie
 Salve sancta parens

¶ O curtasse qwheyn most comendable
 O prynce pereles in pacience
 O virgyn victorius onvariable
 Salve sancta parens
 ¶ O consolatrix of contribulatye
 O suffren well of sapiens 10
 O mayden & moder immaculate
 Salve sancta parens

4 *Salve sancta parens* written twice, first time struck through
 6 *pacience* altered by scribe from *paciens*; *perles in* struck through before *pereles*
 The burden and first stanza are written under the music; in st. 2, 3 and 4 the two pairs of riming lines are bracketed

¶ O precious perele imperpetuell
 O saffure off sadenesse sett in sentence
 O Imparice both off hevyn and hell
 Salue sancta parens

¶ O well off grace celestiall
 Bryng vs lady to thy presence
 Kepe vs well that we note fall
 Salue sancta parens

20

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THE PEARL: *west ernays* (307); *Fasor* (432)

Line 307 of the manuscript of *The Pearl* has usually been read,
 ȝe setten hys wordes ful westernays,

and *westernays* has been explained as an error for OF. *bestorneis* or a transformation of it.¹ Morris, however, had early recognized it as two words in a crowded line.² His reading was *westerne ays*, his translation, 'western ways,' neither of which would seem satisfactory. A possible reading, and one which permits a sense consistent with the rest of the stanza is *west ernays*—*west* from OE. *wēste*, 'empty,' and *ernays* for *ernes*, a fourteenth century form of 'earnest' (v. *NED.* 'earnest' sb.²) with the figurative meaning 'foretaste, instalment, pledge . . .' developed from the literal 'money, or a sum of money, paid as an instalment, especially for the purpose of securing a contract.' The word, according to *NED.*, was early confused with 'earnest' (sb.¹, also spelled *ernes* in the fourteenth century) 'seriousness, serious intention . . . the notion being that an *earnest* [sb.²] was so called as showing that a bargain was made in earnest.' *Ernes* in the fifteenth century *Promptorium Parvulorum* is defined 'pignus.'

The ending *-ays* may be explained as an example of the poet's

¹ Cf. *NED.*: *Westernais*, adv. Obs. [App. an alteration of OFr. *bestorneis*] Wrongfully, perversely. [In illustration, Line 307 of *The Pearl* is quoted]. Cf. also Stratmann-Bradley, *Middle-English Dictionary*, "Additions and Corrections," 708; *The Pearl*, ed. C. G. Osgood, Jr. (Boston, 1906); *The Pearl*, ed. I. Gollancz (London, 1921).

² Richard Morris, *Early English Alliterative Poems in the West-Midland Dialect of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1864). EETS. 1.

use of artificial rhymes, as in *wace* (65) and *streny* (351). However, in West Midland the form *ernays* might have appeared. The proper name *Erneis* (probably *Ernes*, *Ernest*) occurs on the list for Cornwall in *Domesday Book*,³ and Welsh names are found in Lancashire documents, chiefly in the south, dating from about 1200.⁴

Line 307 of *The Pearl*, therefore, in accordance with the conjecture here proposed, may be translated,

Ye make His words a quite empty pledge.

That is, in believing only what you see (308), you make what Our Lord promised (*hyȝte*, 305) regarding the resurrection of the body (305-306) a pledge without value.⁵

A quatrain of the poem which has caused some trouble to editors is that at the end of Stanza 36 (lines 429-432), in which the dreamer praises the Blessed Virgin:

Now for synglerty o hyr dousor,
We calle hyr Fenix of Arraby,
þat freles fleȝe of hyr fasor,
Lyk to þe Quen of cortaysye.

The traditional interpretation of *fasor* (*NED.* 'fashion, form') misses the special significance of the poet's praise of Mary, namely, that from the moment of her creation she was immaculate even as was the phoenix,

Which flawless flew from its Creator.

Fasor, that is, here represents one of the various forms of OF. *faiseor*, *faisour*, 'Maker, Creator.' Two pertinent illustrations from Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, are:

Me covient monter a mon *feseeur* por les euvres de ses commandemenz. (Vie et mir. de plus s. confess., Maz. 568, f.^o 118)

Dieu *faizeor* de toutes choses. (Regle del hospit., Richel. 1978, f.^o 166)

This meaning for *fasor* is supported by—and possibly is traceable

³ *Domesday Book*, ed. Sir. H. Ames (Southampton, 1861-1864), XII, fo. 6.

⁴ Eilert Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), 266-267.

⁵ The phrasing is Biblical. Cf. Ps. 88.35 (Douay Version): Neither will I profane my covenant: and the words that proceed from my mouth I will not make void.

to—*The Phoenix Homily*, two passages of which stress the fact of the creation of the marvelous bird by God:

þair wunēþ on an fugel fæßer Fenix gehaten, he is mycel and mære swa se Mihtige ȝesceop . . .

þas halge fugel is Fenix ȝehaten, wliȝ and wynsum, swa hine God ȝescop.⁶

Compare also in the poem *Phoenix*, a like emphasis upon the view that the bird is a beautiful work of the Creator:

eall biþ geniwad
feorh and feþerhoma, swa he aet frymþe waes,
þa hine aerest god on þone aeþelan wong
sigorfaest sette.

faraþ feorran and nean folca þryþum,
þær hi sciewiaþ scyppendes giefe
faegre on þam fugle, swa him aet fruman sette
sigora soþcyning sellicran gecynd,
fraetwe faegran ofer fugla cyn.⁷

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THE NAME IRISDISSION IN THE 'INTERLUDE OF JOHN THE EVANGELIST'

In his edition of the *Interlude of John the Evangelist*¹ John Stephen Farmer comments on the meaning of Irisdision, the name of one of the *dramatis personae*. Under the heading "Trentham (Sir William of Trentham)" in the "Note-Book and Word-List," an appendix to the volume, Farmer makes the following statements:

As regards Irisdision, who is obviously the same as John the Evangelist and Sir William of Trentham, this is a puzzle. Eugenio is Greek, but an attempt at making Greek of Irisdision is not quite satisfactory, and may seem somewhat far-fetched. *Iris* in Greek mythology was a messenger of

⁶ *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century*, ed. Rubie D.N. Warner (London, 1917 for 1915, EETS. 152), 147, 148.

⁷ *The Exeter Book*, ed. I. Gollancz (London, 1895, EETS. 104), ll. 279-282 and 326-330.

¹ "Lost" Tudor Plays, With Some Others, London: Early English Drama Society, 1907, 349-368.

the gods, who are sometimes noted collectively by *Dis*—is Irisdision intended to mean 'a divine messenger'?²

Farmer doubtless pointed to the analysis of Irisdision as an unsatisfactory compound of Greek words chiefly because, for the time being at least, he was not able to make a clear disposition of all the elements in the name.³ "Iris-*Dis*" with the "ion" element left hanging is indeed an unsatisfactory analysis. Had the author of *John the Evangelist* wished to make his character simply the messenger of the gods, he could have named him Irisdis and been done with it. Or, he could have taken the name Irisdios and thus have simplified matters for all of us. I suspect, however, that he meant Irisdision, every element of it.

At the very opening of the play Saint John the Evangelist is sermonizing on the blessedness of "meditacyon of our lorde Jesus." Eugenio makes a brief reply and then is answered by Irisdision, who is obviously John. Now Irisdision as a messenger of the gods has a character wholly in harmony with John's, and there is nothing far-fetched about it. Does not the New Testament tell us, "*Exstigit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen Joannes*"? Is not John a messenger of God? He was, indeed, a very special messenger, and I think that the following passage from the play will offer us an opportunity to make a guess in harmony with Farmer's but better established.

Irisdision. What is thy name?

Eugenio. A rede.

Iris. Eugenio I trowe the same.

Eug. A syr the devyll stryke of thy hede

Horesent who taught the so ryght to rede

I trowe some yvell spyrte be within the.⁴

Iris. In the cyte of Hierusalem that is so called

I feare thou wylte never come to that holy Syone

That with twelve precyous stones is surely walled

Full strayte is the waye thyder to gone

And into that castell entrynge is none

Withoutou thou acquaynte the with two porters before

Hope is the fyrst / and Faythe the other one.⁵

² *Ibid.*, 465.

³ Farmer admits that the publication of the plays was being made at a date earlier than he desired (p. 420); hence some of his analyses may not have had the benefit of repeated consideration.

⁴ Farmer thinks that the continuation is imperfect at this point.

⁵ From a photostatic copy of the play (British Museum), Signature A. iii (right).

The seemingly imperfect continuation may at this point have sufficiently distracted Farmer that he failed to note the significance of the above passage. Surely we may take the expression "holy Syone" and immediately apply it to the name in question.

One needs only a smattering of Greek to make the analysis. The first part of the name is from Iris ('Ιρις) and the last part from Sion (Σιών). The middle element is clearly di' (δι'). John, who is Irisdision, is indeed a messenger of the gods, but the habitat is not Mt. Olympus but Zion. Irisdision, Iris-di'-Sion, is the messenger from Zion.

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'METHLES' IN *SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT*
2106

þer passes non bi þat place so proude in his armes
þat he ne dyngeþ hym to deþe with dynt of his honde;
For he is a mon methles, and mercy non vses,
For be hit chorle oþer chaplain þat bi þe chapel rydes,
Monk oþer masse-prest oþer any mon elles,
Hym bynk as quembe hym to quelle as quyk go hym-seluen.

(Lines 2104-9, Re-ed. I. Gollancz and M. Day (EETS. O. S. 210), Oxford, 1941)

Tolkien-Gordon and Miss Day accept *NED*.s (s. v. *methelless*, a. obs.) generalized 'immoderate,' and the former add to it their own 'violent,' but neither of those meanings here gives the poet's thought. The guide condemns the Gn. Knt. not so much because he is 'immoderate' or 'violent,' but because he transgresses two of the generally accepted obligations of chivalry, veneration for the clergy, and the duty of acting as a protector of the laboring classes. Bosworth-Toller gloss *mæþ* (see V) 'due measure in regard to others, honour, respect,' and support that translation by a quotation from the *Laws of King Cnut (Ancient Laws and Institutes, publ. by Record Comiss., 1840, Sect. 4, p. 154)*: *Man sceal . . . mæþe on hāðe gecnāwan*, 'people must feel respect for the clergy.' Reverence and respect are due to priests, so ecclesiastical writers tell us, from all classes, but particularly from the knightly class, and throughout medieval times members of that class (though with less

enthusiasm) had admitted the obligation. Sainte Palaye (*Mém. sur L'Ann. Chevalerie* I. 133 n. 34) quotes from the OF. *Ordre de Chevalerie* the assertion that ‘Office de Chevalerie est de maintenir la Foi catholique,’ and from Eustache Deschamps, a contemporary of the *G.*-poet, an almost identical sentiment

Chevaliers en ce monde ey
Ne peuvent vivre sanz soucy:
Ils doivent le peuple defendre
Et leur sang pour la Foy espandre.

For further references see S. Painter, *French Chivalry*, Balto. 1940, pp. 69, 88. Less frequently mentioned by medieval writers on chivalry is the obligation to protect, not *assault*, people of the lower classes. But the Gn. Knt. reportedly doesn’t even respect this obligation (2107).

Methles = ‘without principle.’ The Gn. Knt., according to G.’s guide, is a conscienceless ‘thug,’ heedless of compassion or any ideal held sacred by his order.¹

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‘SEINT JULIAN HE WAS’

Chaucer says of the hospitable Franklin (*Prologue to C. T.* 340):

Seint Julian he was in his contree.

Recently I chanced upon a quotation from Perrinet Dupin, *Chronique du Comte Rouge* (cited from Terrier de Loray, *Jean de Vienne*, pp. 214-15, Paris, 1877), which adds picturesque detail to the poet’s description, and shows the currency in the later fourteenth century of the expression that a certain person was ‘a St. Julian,’ or his house a ‘maison’ or ‘hostel’ of that saint. Apparently neither Professors Skeat, Manly nor Robinson chanced upon this particular quotation, for it does not appear in the explanatory notes to their excellent editions of *The Canterbury Tales*. The words of the *Chronique* describe the hospitality of the Count of

¹ The sense here given would render *meþeþez* in *Pur.* 273 more accurately than G.’s ‘immoderate’ or Menner’s ‘extraordinary.’ I am indebted to the learning of Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University for instruction on the chivalric code of the fourteenth century. All errors upon me proven, however, are not his, but mine.

Savoy who had joined the French army assembled in 1386 at l'Ecluse for the invasion of England.

Celui-ci lui fit grand accueil et grande chère, comme à tous les seigneurs, 'qu'il faisoit, dit un chroniqueur, boire et manger, en sorte que son hostel estoit appelé la maison Saint-Julien, parce que nul en icelui, tant fust grand, moyen ou petit, n'alloit qui s'en tournast sans diner, gouster ou souper.'¹

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WORTH BOTH HIS EARS

On *Piers Plowman*, B text, prologue, line 78, "Were þe bischop yblissid and worth bothe his eres," Skeat observes, "The phrase 'worth both his ears' is a satirical expression, signifying that the person spoken of is one to whom his ears are of some use, not one who turns a deaf ear to the complaints of the poor" (ed. E.E.T.S. Part IV, sect. i, 1877, p. 13). Elsewhere Skeat's note reads, after "signifying that": "the person so spoken of is one of some worth, and not like one whose ears and eyes are of no particular use to him" (Clarendon Press Series, 9th ed. revised, 1906, p. 97). "Fit to *keep* both his ears" seems a better gloss; the probable implication is that this particular licenser of brevet-banging pardoners deserves to have his cropped.

There is no better piece of drawing in the poem than the portrait of Avarice. The meaning of line 194 of the B text (Passus V) is obvious: "And as a bondman of bacoun his berde was bidraueled." The change in line 201 of the C text (Passus VII) is an improvement: "As bondemenne bacon hus berd was yshaue," for two reasons. The smooth shave fits better the mean, avaricious face; it is essential if the tremulous jowls are to have their full effect. The second reason for C's superiority is its line's social import. Skeat glosses (E.E.T.S. *Notes*, p. 117; ed. Oxford, 1886, II, 81-82): "i. e. cut off in rather a ragged manner." Surely the point is that at best a serf got a thin slice.

HAZELTON SPENCER

¹ The passage just quoted would also serve very well as an explanatory note to lines 773-6 of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*:

Heȝly he þonkeȝ
Jesus and sayn Gilyan, þat gentyle are boȝe,
þat cortaysly had hym kydde, and his cry herkened.
'Now bone hostel,' coȝe þe burne, 'I beseche you ȝette!'

THE LOST LINES OF "SECUNDA PASTORUM"

In the E.E.T.S. *Towneley Plays* (p. 124) a footnote to line 263 suggests that "possibly 2 lines in -owne are missing in this couplet.¹ But see the like,² stanza 15 in the first Shepherds' Play, p. 104." The editor's "possibly" was soon lost sight of. J. M. Manly (*Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, I, 103) not quite accurately states that "E.E.T.S. notes that two lines are missing and refers to a similar stanza (No. 15) in the first Shepherds' Play. In both cases lines have been lost, I think." Manly's reference figure, as in E.E.T.S., is superscribed after "rowne," the last word of line 263, the second line of the stanza as it has come down to us. Dr. J. Q. Adams (*Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, p. 149) notes, "A lacuna in the MS." He prints two rows of dots after line 263, next inserts the stage direction "They lie down," and then lets Mak continue with "No dred,"³ presumably apropos of something in the allegedly lost lines. Some of the translators, if that is the proper term, seem to think there is no doubt about either the existence of the lacuna or its exact location: e. g., "The two lines that should follow are missing," "Two lines missing in this stanza," "At this point there appear to be some lines omitted in this original."

As George England, the E.E.T.S. editor, implies, there is no way of telling whether we are here confronted with a lacuna or with an irregular stanza. "No drede" follows "rowne" acceptably; it would follow almost anything acceptably. I think the chances favor a lacuna, though not precisely here. One reason, of course, is the stanza's being shorter by two lines. A second arises from the care the dramatist has taken to differentiate the three shepherds, at any rate up to this point. Since Daw, the third, is a subordinate, is it likely that he provides the solution of what to do with Mak? My guess is that, if there is a lacuna, the two missing lines preceded line 262 and began the stanza, and that, at least in part, they were spoken by *Primus Pastor*, who has opened the subject of who is to stand watch. That the lost lines, if such there were, began the stanza also seems likelier because the dispute with which

¹ For "couplet" read "stanza."

² I. e., an irregular, short stanza.

³ E.E.T.S. and Manly: *No dred*.

the preceding stanza ends is not settled in it. *Primus Pastor* orders *Secundus* to mount guard, but the latter declines. Doubtless *Primus* then steps or turns toward Comrade *Tercius*, who characteristically anticipates a similar order with the declaration that he is as well descended as either of the others. As the MS stands, line 262 follows well enough, but the order to Mak would come more appropriately from *I Pastor*. Thus we are certainly not required to assume the existence of a lacuna; but one seems likely, and it probably precedes line 262.

HAZELTON SPENCER

NOTES ON EARLY TUDOR CONTROL OF THE STAGE

Since Sir E. K. Chambers' *Medieval Stage* (vol. II) and Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve's *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* are the most frequently consulted discussions of early Tudor control of the stage, it is worth while to call attention to omissions and correct any errors or misleading statements in these generally accurate and dependable works. Indeed, a very important correction in the records as reported in the *Medieval Stage*¹ is made by Miss Gildersleeve when she points out that what Chambers supposed to be a pronouncement by Henry VIII in 1533, and consequently the earliest known formal statement of a governmental policy of stage censorship, is in reality a proclamation by Queen Mary in 1553. She traces the origin of this misdating through Collier to Warton's *History of English Literature*, and sets the record right by an accurate reading from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, which is the ultimate authority for the item.²

Miss Gildersleeve, however, is not so careful to check the facts in connection with another detail of stage history which she discusses in a following paragraph.³ Obviously depending on Chambers,⁴

¹ E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, II, 220. In his *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 275 n., Chambers admits and regrets the error in the earlier work.

² Virginia C. Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* (New York, 1908), p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴ *Medieval Stage*, loc. cit. It is curious that Chambers should have made the slip, for he had earlier noted the correct year of the revival of *Pammachius* at Christ's College (*ibid.*, p. 195). Sources of information

she relates that in 1537 Bishop Gardiner found the student performance of *Pammachius* at Christ's College, Cambridge, "soo pestiferous as were intolerable." Yet a glance at the authorities cited by Chambers reveals that it was in 1545, not 1537, that *Pammachius* was acted by the Cambridge students. The series of letters that passed between Gardiner and Vice-Chancellor Parker in relation to this affair is dated over the period from March 27 to May 18, 1545. Since Parker was not Vice-Chancellor of the University before January 25 of that year, there is no possibility of an earlier dating.

Still another passage in the *Medieval Stage* which Miss Gildersleeve incorporates into her survey⁵ needs attention. "Foxe records," says Chambers,⁶ "how under the *Act Abolishing Diversity in Opinions* (1539) . . . one Spencer, an ex-priest who had become an interlude player, was burned at Salisbury for 'matter concerning the sacrament of the altar.'" Here is an accurate statement, so far as words go; but it embodies an incautious implication. Foxe at no point declares that the "matter concerning the altar" was uttered in the course of an interlude, as he would have been likely to do had such been the case. The *Acts and Monuments*, however, is replete with instances of persecution on account of remarks made in private concerning the sacrament, and it is probable that such an instance of heresy is referred to in the passage under discussion. At least, we have no evidence here to indicate the significance of the incident in a history of the drama.

But if it seems advisable to reject the above item which has been supposed to have a bearing on stage history, we are also able to make some additions to the story of governmental control. Unnoticed by either Chambers or Gildersleeve, there is a document catalogued among the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* which contributes to our knowledge of the origins of official licensing of plays. On May 2, 1546, five persons "naming themselves the Earl

concerning the correspondence between Bishop Gardiner and Vice-Chancellor Parker on the subject of the play are listed by Chambers in a footnote on p. 220. To these references may be added Strype's *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (London, 1711), pp. 18 f., and J. A. Muller's *Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 129 ff.

⁵ Gildersleeve, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁶ *Medieval Stage*, II, 221. See John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. S. R. Cattley (London, 1937-41), v, 443.

of Bath's servants" were committed to the Counter for "playing lewd plays in the suburbs of London." Four days later they were released under bond not to play without the Privy Council's license, and the Lord Mayor was apprized of the fact.⁷ This seems to be the earliest known reference to licensing by a governmental agency, and anticipates by five years the system set up under Edward VI.

Perhaps the most interesting addition to our information about official concern with drama in the reign of Henry VIII, however, is the report of a royal precept promulgated in 1545, incorporated into Journal 15 of the London Town Clerk's Records and copied in Letter Book Q.⁸ This proclamation, after noting the extraordinary increase of plays in "suspytious darke and inconvenyent places" in the city, especially on Sundays, holy-days, and at the time of divine service, points out the dangers from the plague, the evil effects of such entertainment on the young, and the dangerous influence upon apprentices. It therefore carries the king's command that henceforth no one should play any manner of interlude within the city,

unless yt be yn the howses of noblemen; or of the lord maire, shryves, or Aldermen of the same . . . oreys, the howses of gentlemen or of the substançyall and sad commoners or head parisheners of the same Cyte in the open stretes of the seid Cyte as in tymes past it hathe been used and accustomed or in the common halls of the companyes.

Now, in spite of the preamble with its observations on public health and morality that remind us of later Puritan objections to the stage, this proclamation is obviously directed solely against unregulated and uncontrolled plays. It is a characteristic Tudor step in the direction of centering responsibility for an activity at which the king looked with one auspicious and one dropping eye, and is in line with developments later in the century. When Elizabeth issued her licensing order of 1559, the proclamation of May 16 charged the "nobility and gentlemen, as they profess to obey her Majesty . . . with their servants being players, that this commandment may be duly kept and obeyed."⁹ The statute of

⁷ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie (London, 1862-1910), vol. xxi, pt. 1, p. 373, no. 748.

⁸ Described by Arthur W. Reed in *The Beginnings of the English Secular and Romantic Drama*, Shakespeare Association Papers, No. 7 (London, 1922), p. 22. Quotations below are taken from Reed's report.

⁹ Reprinted in *Transcripts of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London*, ed. Edward Arber (London), 1875-94), K, 564.

1572, requiring that (except when under special license) players "not belonging to any Baron of this Realme" or to some "other honorable Personage of greater Degreee" should be treated as rogues and vagabonds, is well known,¹⁰ as is the proclamation against unlawful retainers which was published on January 3 in the same year.¹¹ The final development under Elizabeth was the attempt to limit the acting companies to those under the aegis of the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Admiral, thus bringing (theoretically at least) all players under the surveillance of members of the Privy Council.¹² The natural sequence under James I was the granting of patents only to companies directly responsible to the king or a member of the royal family.

The recently discovered proclamation of 1545 may throw light upon the interpretation of another royal pronouncement of May 26 in the same year. This latter document is an order for the punishment of vagabonds, ruffians, and idle persons which mentions specifically "common players and masterless men" among those who are to be impressed for service in the galleys.¹³ Chambers hesitates to admit that "common players" refers to actors, and prefers to suppose that the term is applied to gamblers.¹⁴ But since we have a contemporaneous order setting forth the inconvenience feared from unregulated drama, and attempting to eliminate such "interludes" as were not under the control of a responsible person, Chambers' doubts as to the significance of the phrase would appear to be unfounded. It is likely that the term "common players" (appearing as it does in juxtaposition with "masterless men") was used in reference to precisely those free lance companies of actors which the government considered dangerous or "inconvenient."

It is worth while remembering that in 1545 the prosecution of Ann Askew was in progress,¹⁵ the king's councillors were extraordi-

¹⁰ *Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1810-28), vol. iv, pt. 1, p. 590. See also Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 270.

¹¹ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom., Eliz.*, LXXXIII, no. 38. See also Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 268.

¹² See *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, ed. J. C. Dasent (London, 1890-1907), xxviii, 327-8. Cf. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 325.

¹³ Reprinted in *English Drama and Stage*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1896), p. 6.

¹⁴ *Medieval Stage*, II, 222 n. Gildersleeve (*op. cit.*, p. 25) accepts Chambers' interpretation.

¹⁵ See *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xx, pt. 1, p. 175, no. 390.

narily worried about "naughty books" "covertly thrown abroad,"¹⁶ and the Articles of 1543 against unorthodox expressions in "printed books, printed ballads, plays, rhymes, songs and other fantasies" were being enforced. In connection with the proclamation against "common player," Chambers remarks, "In any case the protected players were not suppressed." But what the other order of 1545, herein described, makes clear is that it was the unprotected, and hence uncontrolled and irresponsible, stage plays that the government wished to eradicate.

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THE FINAL PROTEST AGAINST THE ELIZABETH-
ALENCON MARRIAGE PROPOSAL

It has been assumed that Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, the leaders of the opposition to the proposed marriage of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Alençon, roused to action by the dangerous crisis in the affair in the autumn of 1579, voiced their final protest through Sir Philip Sidney's famous letter to the Queen, and that consequently they withdrew completely from further attempts to oppose the marriage negotiations as too dangerous an enterprise to be continued.¹ The purpose of this paper is to show that, although open attacks on the marriage ceased with Sidney's letter, the opposition of the court group was merely driven underground to reappear in a subtler form in the spring of 1581, when there was a new crisis in the conduct of the negotiations.

French ambassadors who were to complete arrangements for the marriage arrived at Dover on April 17. Extensive preparations had been made for their reception. Shortly after their arrival they were given audience by the Queen and were entertained by several of her greatest courtiers with lavish banquets.² But before the ambassadors reached England Sidney and his friends had already

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pt ii, p. 366, no. 769; p. 490, no. 995.

¹ See Edwin Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 125-128; W. Gordon Zeeveld, "The Uprising of the Commons in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *MLN.*, XLVIII (1933), 209-217.

² *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1838), II, 134.

planned another kind of entertainment—a tournament, with unusual pageantry, set for April 24. The symbolism of this tournament, rather than Sidney's letter of 1579, marks the final stroke of Leicester's party against the proposed marriage.

The tournament "device" provided that Sidney, the Earl of Arundel, Lord Windsor, and Fulk Greville, representing the Four Foster Children of Desire, would attack the Fortress of Beauty, which would be defended by the faithful knights of the Queen.³ Of course, Elizabeth and her retinue would occupy the fortress, really the platform from which she would watch the show. A formal challenge was presented to the Queen on April 16, bidding her defiance and calling on her to find suitable defenders. For one reason and another the tournament was postponed several times and finally occurred on May 15 and 16 in the tiltyard at Whitehall.

On the morning of May 15 the challengers and their attendants entered the tiltyard in a blaze of engraved jousting armor and colorful liveries. After they had summoned the Fortress of Beauty to surrender and had been roundly defied, they began the siege by shooting off two cannons loaded with "sweet powder" and "sweet water," and by throwing flowers against the walls, "with all such devises as might seeme fit shot for Desire." Then the defenders, some twenty-two strong, entered. Two of them, Sir Thomas Perot and Anthonic Cooke, representing Adam and Eve, made a long, complimentary speech to the Queen to the effect that since the Sun (Elizabeth) is about to be besieged, the gods have sent an angel to summon Adam and Eve to correct their offspring, the Foster Children. The angel then appeared in behalf of Adam and Eve, and, in a speech more fulsome than the preceding one in its compliments to the Queen, tried to convince the challengers of their foolhardiness in besieging the Sun. At the very close of these preliminary parleyings a page of four of the defenders again referred to Elizabeth as the Sun and as Beauty that cannot be taken by force.

The real tilting then began and continued through the rest of the day. At the close of the day's sport the Fortress of Beauty

³ It would be interesting to know whether Sidney himself was the author of the pageantry and speeches used in the tournament. Malcolm W. Wallace [*The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 264] believes that he was responsible for the whole "device." See Holinshed, *Chronicles* (London, 1807-8), iv, 883, for Sidney's notable "inventions" in court tournaments.

was still untaken; but the challengers, in a speech commanding Elizabeth, promised to renew the assault on the following morning.

Next morning a herald of the challengers reopened the show with a speech on the shaken hopes of the Four Foster Children, who, he said, were renewing the fight only because "their soules shall leave their bodies [sooner] than Desire shall leave their soules." The tilting was similar to that of the first day, and with a like outcome. To close the tournameint a boy, "clothed in ash-coloured garments in token of humble submission," and bearing an olive branch in his hand, made a speech of "peaceable servitude" in which the four challengers

acknowledge this fortresse to be reserved for the eie of the whole world, faire lifted up from the compasse of their destinie. . . . They acknowledge noble Desire should have desired nothing so much, as the flourishing of that fortresse, which was to be esteemed according to itselfes liking. They acknowledge the least determination of Vertue (which stands for the gard of this fortresse) to be too strong for the strongest Desire; and therefore they doo acknowledge themselves overcome, as to be slaves to this fortresse for ever, which title they will beare in their foreheads, as their other name is engraven on their hearts.⁴

In June the French ambassadors went home empty-handed. In the fall Alençon himself came over and stirred a new fear in the opposition. But after a few love scenes, planned and played in the Queen's most disarming manner, Elizabeth shuffled the Duke out of England for the last time.

In the past this tournament of the Four Foster Children has been considered a conventional show typical of the childish and costly chivalrous sports of Elizabeth's court. True, the tournament "device," the attack on the castle, is clearly conventional. But the symbolism of the pageantry, particularly of those speeches in which Elizabeth is addressed as the "Sun," is equally clear. By this pseudonym Alençon's faithful ambassador Simier addressed the Queen from 1579 to 1581 in his letters to her in cipher.⁵ In all likelihood only Walsingham and, possibly, Leicester could have conveyed knowledge of this pseudonym to the author of the tournament, Sidney or another. Driven to resort to the method of Lyly,

⁴ For complete account of tournament see John Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1823), II, 312-329.

⁵ *Hatfield House MSS.* (London, 1888), Part 2, p. 488. Simier used three of these pseudonyms: "Le soueil," "la perle," "le diaman."

Spenser, and many another who stepped on dangerous ground, the leaders of the opposition employed a tournament in its intention as symbolic as the series of masques prepared for the proposed meeting of Elizabeth and Mary Stuart in 1562, or as the famous Kenilworth pageants of 1575. It warned the French ambassadors that their mission must end in failure.

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A NOTE ON SPENSER AND PAINTING

The influence of the plastic arts upon the poetic imagery of Edmund Spenser is emphasized again by passages in two seventeenth century manuals. The first, a treatise on drawing alludes to Spenser's verse to point out a model for an artist's drawing. Henry Peacham the younger in *The Gentleman's Exercise* (London, 1612), in "The Second Book of Drawing and Limning," gives (pp. 134-5) the following instructions for a design:

August shall beare the forme of a young man of a fierce and cholericke aspect in a flame colored garment, upon his head a garland of wheat and Rie, upon his arme a basket of all manner of ripe fruites, as peares, plummes, apples, gooseberries: at his belt (as our Spencer describeth him) a sickle, bearing the sign Virgo.

It is no matter that Peacham, relying upon his memory, says *August*, whereas Spenser's description of *July* contains the sickle line.¹ Spenser's *August* himself wears no crown, but he leads a maiden crowned with *corn*. The interesting thing is that Spenser's vivid pictures have hovered in the memory of a drawing master and become in his pages a model for imitation by aspiring young gentlemen. And so the mutual dependence of the various arts is again asserted.

The second manual, *Academy of Armoury*,² by the heraldic painter, Randle Holme, describes certain conventions for the plastic treatment of heraldic subjects. That poet and painter are in close accord in their treatment of many subjects is suggested by the resemblance between Spenser's portraits of Fidelia, Speranza, and

¹ *Faerie Queene*, VII, vii, 36.

² Pt. I, Chester, 1688 (written ca. 1640).

Charissa and the rules laid down by Holme for portraying the virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity. Of Faith Holme says (Book III, p. 205): "Faith is Painted in white Garments in one hand a Cross, and in the other hand a Golden Cup or Chalice, and sometimes a Book." Spenser's Fidelia is "Araied all in lilly white, And in her right hand bore a cup of gold. . . . And in her other hand she fast did hold A booke."³ Of Hope, Holme wrote: "Hope is a Woman in Blew Garments, with Mantle or Vail red, holding or Supporting a Silver Anchor." Speranza too "Was clad in blew" and "upon her arme a silver anchor lay, whereon she leaned ever"⁴ For Charity Holme prescribes "a person in Yellow or Crimson Robes and Vail with a Child in her Arme, and one in her hand by her side; or an enflamed heart in the other hand, with a tyre of Gold and Precious Stones on her head."⁵ Spenser's Charissa "was all in yellow robes arayed . . . A multitude of babes about her hong. . . . And on her head she wore a tyre of gold, Adorned with gemmes and owches wondrous faire."⁶ Holme's "Tyre of Gold" is Spenser's own phrase, but not necessarily an allusion, for it seems a commonplace phrase that both may have borrowed.

Spenser's eclecticism is again demonstrated in his use of those elements of his source materials which served his purpose. But also demonstrated are his deference for traditions, and his accuracy in observing them, his awareness of the conventions of pictorial design (including color), and the inter-dependence of literary and plastic portraiture.

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HOW LONG WAS GOTHIC FICTION IN VOGUE?

There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the duration of the vogue for Gothic literature in England. Some commentators, seeing in Mrs. Radcliffe's work the finest flowering of the school of terror, have traced the falling away of the general interest in Gothic fiction from the day she laid down her pen in 1797 and have termed later novelists in the tradition like Lewis

³ *F. Q.*, I, x, 13, 1-8.

⁴ *F. Q.*, I, x, 14, 2-7.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ *F. Q.*, I, x, 30, 9-31, 1-7.

and Maturin "belated advocates" of an outmoded genre.¹ In other eyes, however, the vogue for sentimental terror continued unabated through the second decade of the nineteenth century, or until *The Heroine* (1813), *Waverley* (1814), or *Northanger Abbey* (1818) turned the tide of popular favor elsewhere.

The answer to this question, certainly, cannot be found either by equating popular success with artistic excellence or by citing the judgments of hostile reviewers. If we consider popularity, as we properly should, in terms of the actual interest of the reading public, a solution would seem to await the publication of an annual register of Gothic fiction, in which we might trace the rise and decline of the general taste. Neither of the present bibliographies, however, provides a satisfactory measure of this sort. Brauchli's list of English *schauerromane* is both incomplete and inaccurate.² And Mr. Montague Summers' ³ recent omnium-gatherum of Gothic romances is, in his own words, too "elastic in every direction." Besides being too inclusive, his bibliography is not chronological; and, naturally, it lists many items which exist only as titles or which cannot be dated.

In lieu of a full register of Gothic fiction a dependable index to the taste for terror, and one which is free from the limitations which embarrass the bibliographer, is afforded by the *Lady's Magazine*, in whose columns the student may follow the shifting tastes of a representative reading audience. Here he has access to the works of fiction themselves, and can assign definite dates of publication to all. The magazine was published without radical change in form or policy for nearly fifty years after 1770, thus providing a more or less fixed "frame of reference"; during this time it included fiction as a regular part of its monthly offerings, and published more of it than any magazine of equal popularity; it enjoyed a large circulation among the middle-class feminine audi-

¹ K. K. Mehrotra, *Horace Walpole and the English Novel* (Oxford, 1934), 162.

² Jakob Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman um 1800* (Weida i. Thur., 1928), 196-260. For a criticism of Brauchli's compilation see Montague Summers, *The Gothic Quest* (London, 1939), 239-41. Brauchli's incompleteness is evidenced by the fact that he assigns 18 Gothic romances to 1805, as against 32 named by Montague Summers in what he asserts is not "a complete or exhaustive list." (*Ibid.*, 85-6.)

³ Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* (London, 1940).

ence, the mainstay of the fiction reading public in this period;⁴ and owing to its practice of depending upon readers for contributions it affords a sensitive barometer for the taste of its audience at any particular time.

The regular fare served up to readers of the *Lady's Magazine* was the usual *mélange* of the eighteenth century miscellany, but fiction was a constant and important ingredient. About a fourth of every issue—that is, twelve to fourteen pages, double-columns—was devoted to short stories (or “tales”) and novels in installment form, of which there were usually three to five running at any one time. Although most of this fiction was highly ephemeral, it faithfully reflects the prevailing interests and literary forms of the day. Among the continued stories during the pre-Gothic years, as one might expect, the influence of Richardson and the French masters of sensibility is supreme, but in the shorter “tales” there is a pronounced undercurrent of romance which shows the direction in which taste is ultimately to flow—settings remote in time and space, idealized characters, and romantic and often violent actions in an atmosphere of sensibility. The first story in the *Lady's Magazine* to include sustained scenes of sentimental terror, however, was a full-length novel, “Alexis, or the Cottage in the Wood,” a translation from the French of Ducray-Duminil. Although “Alexis” is not, strictly speaking, a Gothic romance, but a *roman noir*, it exhibits narrative methods which are quite Radcliffean, and its publication, commencing in March, 1791, marks the real emergence of Gothicism in the *Lady's Magazine*. In 1792 “Alexis” was supplemented with a second novel of terror, “The Friar's Tale,” and in March, 1793, “Grasville Abbey,” a romance after the manner of Mrs. Radcliffe, was added to the growing assemblage of Gothic stories. Thenceforth, for two decades, tales of crime, mystery, and terror became a regular ingredient of the *Lady's Magazine*, every volume of which until 1813 was to feed in some form or other the general taste for imaginative horrors.

⁴ According to one authority (W. C. Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, New York, 1892, II, 137), the *Lady's Magazine* at one time enjoyed a circulation of 16,000—the size of which can be gauged by comparing it with the total sale of all editions of *Waverley* (1814) previous to 1829, amounting to 11,000 copies. However inferior in quality the short stories and novels of the *Lady's Magazine*, they were probably as widely read as much of the popular fiction of the day.

A fair measure of the distribution of readers' interest between Gothic and non-Gothic stories at various times may be obtained by comparing the relative amount of space occupied by each variety during the course of any year's run. If we concern ourselves with serial stories only,⁵ and if we take the individual installments as units, we are provided with a rough but effective standard by which we can gauge the relative popularity of Gothic and non-Gothic. Volume XXVI (1795) of the *Lady's Magazine*, for example, offered three continued stories of a Gothic character⁶—totalling twenty installments, against the nineteen installments of non-Gothic continued stories in the same volume. In 1795, therefore, we may judge that about one half of the readers' attention was being directed towards Gothic fiction. By itself, no doubt, this proportion signifies little, but comparative averages for three years or five together, over the course of several decades, should be fairly indicative of the progress of the general interest.

Adopting for longer intervals the same method of computation, we find that in the period from 1791 to 1798, for the seven years subsequent to the appearance of "Alexis," about fifty-two percent, a good half of the continued stories in terms of sheer bulk, were Gothic. During the next four years, 1799-1802, no less than sixty-two percent, or more than three-fifths, of the serial stories make an appeal to terror. 1803 is a low year, with a twenty-three percent score but the years 1804 to 1806 reach an average of seventy-two percent. In this three-year period approximately three-quarters of the serial stories offered to readers of the *Lady's Magazine* come under the designation "Gothic." In 1805, in fact, the high-water year for Gothic fiction in the *Lady's Magazine*, three of the four continued stories offered (or eighty-four percent in quantitative terms) are tales of terror. After 1806 a period of decline for this

⁵ Serial stories seem more frequently to be contributed by readers than do the short tales; readers were more likely to express their opinions on them to the editor; and, most important, the installments of continued stories were fairly regular in length, whereas short stories ranged from 500 to 5000 words.

⁶ A story will be termed *Gothic* if it includes one or more scenes of terror in the conventional mode—employing, that is, the traditional apparatus of gloomy castles, dark forests, storms, banditti, etc. Not everything in stories thus labelled, of course, is concerned with the appeal to fear, nor is this always the dominant interest.

type of fiction appears to have set in. From 1807 to 1809 the proportion drops to forty-four percent; from 1810 to 1812, nineteen percent; and during 1813 and 1814 Gothic stories disappear entirely.⁷

If we take the *Lady's Magazine* to be representative, therefore, we may conclude that Gothic romance gained its first firm hold on readers' interest about 1791, the year in which Mrs. Radcliffe attained her first outstanding success. Thenceforth, for a number of years, this species of fiction enjoyed great popularity and fully maintained, if it did not increase, its audience for about a decade after Mrs. Radcliffe's last novel. When the vogue did show signs of abatement in 1807 (in 1808, according to Brauchli's list), it was yet half a dozen years before interest may be said to have generally lapsed. The continuing minority interest, which found expression outside in the romances of Mrs. Roche, Francis Lathom, Louisa Stanhope, and a score of other writers, was marked in the *Lady's Magazine* by the occasional reappearance after 1814 of stories in the Gothic mode. But measured against the great majority of non-Gothic tales during this period, these occupied only a subordinate place in readers' interest.

Against this background of shifting popular taste, the work of writers like Lewis, Maturin, Eaton Stannard Barrett, and Scott must be placed if it is to be seen in its proper historical perspective. Far from being a "belated advocate" of Gothic romance, resisting the general taste in a vain attempt to repeat the sensational success of *The Monk*, Lewis is seen to be swimming briskly with the popular current. His writing career (1795 to 1811) spans, but does not extend beyond, the vogue for imaginative terror; *The Bravo of Venice* (1804) and *Feudal Tyrants* (1806), in fact, were published in what we have seen to be the years of greatest activity among the Gothicists. Maturin's *Melmoth*, appearing in 1820, may be correctly termed a revival in its relation

⁷ These results are, in general, supported by Brauchli's bibliography. If we eliminate those novels to which he cannot assign a definite date, 1805 and 1807 become the peak years with eighteen *schauerromane* each; 1802 next with sixteen, 1806 third, with fifteen. The three-year period from 1805 to 1807, in Brauchli, surpasses by thirty percent the production from 1802 to 1804, and by fifty percent or more the production of any other three year period. After 1807 the number of published romances which he records declines fairly steadily.

to primary trends in the popular fiction of its day; but this description cannot be justly applied to work previous to 1812, and surely it is misleading to term *The Fatal Revenge* (1807), published at the zenith of the general interest in Gothic, "a late survivor of the Radcliffian species."⁸ True, it attempted nothing which Mrs. Radcliffe had not already done, and done better. But in its relation to the great English reading audience of the time, the audience of the circulating libraries and monthlies like the *Lady's Magazine*, it was not an untimely work. *The Heroine* (1813), on the other hand, appeared at the end of the vogue, at a time when the general atmosphere had been cleared of Gothic sensibility. That this satire "killed" Gothic romance is a time-honoured legend with no basis in fact.⁹ Similarly, *Northanger Abbey* (1818), completed in 1803, when Mrs. Radcliffe's popular dominion was still unchallenged, was published at least half a dozen years too late to affect the general taste.

It is equally erroneous to assert that *Waverley* either "ousted" Gothic romance from public favor or "rendered it obsolete."¹⁰ Twenty years of unimaginative repetition had already broken the hold of the tale of terror on the general reading public beyond Scott's power to weaken it further. This is not to deny that there is a close relation between the Scottish novels and Gothic fiction. *Waverley* and its successors had deep roots in the old romance of terror, and there is undoubtedly an organic relation between the sensational success of the one during the years from 1791 to 1812 and the tremendous popularity of the other following so hard upon it. The first phenomenon accounts in a great measure for the second. For the outworn motifs and machinery of the romance of sentimental adventure, Scott offered equivalents which afforded the reader the same excitement while they carried all the conviction of real life. The wicked marquis's, the scheming monks, the savage banditti, and phantoms of the Gothicists were transformed by the Wizard of the North into the genuine outlaws, clerics, border

⁸ Cf. Oliver Elton, *A Survey of English Literature, 1870-1830* (New York, 1924), I, 218.

⁹ Cf. Walter Raleigh, "Introduction," *The Heroine* (London, 1909), p. xiv.

¹⁰ Cf. Michael Sadleir, *The Northanger Novels: A Footnote to Jane Austen* (The English Association, 1927), 20; N. H. Clement, *Romanticism in France* (New York, 1939), 117.

barons, and ghosts of Highland tradition; the operatic landscapes with castles and ruins metamorphosed into the actual mountains, forests, glens, caverns, and impregnable fortresses of the North country. The popular vogue for romances of terror was over in 1814, but their appeal was still fresh in the public mind. When Scott breathed new life into the old forms, the general audience returned with the same eagerness. It was not mere whimsicality which made Crabb Robinson on reading *Waverley* in 1815 associate the new romance with Mrs. Radcliffe's work.

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GÉRANDO:¹ A SOURCE FOR EMERSON

On p. 49 of Emerson's MS. Verse Book *P* occurs a pencil copy of the poem beginning, "The brave Empedocles, defying fools."² Except for the general absence of punctuation the poem stands exactly as published in the Centenary Edition.³ Immediately below the MS. copy is a brief note, also in pencil and in Emerson's hand: *Degerando vol 2 p 36*. This is a clue to the source of the poem.

The edition of Gérando's *Histoire Comparée des Systèmes de Philosophie* which Emerson used was that of 1822-3. In this edition the discussion of Empedocles occurs in II, 4-9. Note A, expanding the discussion, covers pages 34-36. Emerson was, evidently, most interested in pages 35-36, for the poem, excepting the first two lines, is a faithful versification of the prose of Gérando's note. I give here in parallel columns the lines of the poem and the prose passages to show Emerson's dependence on the original:

The brave Empedocles, defying fools,	On accuse Empédocle de l'orgueil le plus ridicule,
Pronounced the word that mortals hate to hear—	

¹ Joseph Marie, Baron de Gérando (1772-1842), French philosophical writer.

² I wish to thank the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association through Edward Waldo Forbes for permission to refer to this Verse Book and to use the note appended to the poem.

³ *Complete Works*, IX, 353.

"I am divine, I am not mortal made;	parce qu'il s'était lui-même comparé à un Dieu: "Je suis un dieu, dit-il dans les vers conservés par Sextus; Je ne suis point sujet à la mort,
I am superior to my human weeds."	je suis supérieur aux choses humaines. . . ."
Not Sense but Reason is the Judge of truth;	"Suivant le témoignage de plusieurs," dit ailleurs Sextus . . . , "Empédocle attribuait non aux sens, mais à la droite raison, la prérogative de juger de la vérité.
Reason's twofold, part human, part divine;	La droite raison est en partie divine, en partie humaine;
That human part may be described and taught,	la seconde peut être exprimée,
The other portion language cannot speak.	mais aucun langage ne peut traduire la première." ⁴

This versification of Gérando's prose is a particularly good illustration of Emerson's reading for what he called the *lustres*.⁵ Notice how Emerson changed the tone of the beginning of the original, which states simply that Empedocles was accused of the most ridiculous vanity. Since Emerson was searching for confirmation of ideas which he himself entertained, the vanity of Empedocles became, in the poem, an Emersonian bravery and defiance of fools. From this point onward the poem is an exact reproduction of the prose without any change in the order of ideas. If further proof were needed that this poem shows Emerson's reading for *lustres*, it could be found in his significant disregard of a passage in which Empedocles is said to have modified his repudiation of the senses as a judge of truth. The passage, which I give here, follows immediately the part of Gérando which Emerson versified:

Cependant, dans un passage subséquent, Empédocle rend aux sens une partie de cette confiance qu'il leur avait retirée, et accorde à chaque sens

⁴ *Histoire Comparée* (Paris, 1822), II, 35-36. Emerson's copy of this edition is in the Emerson house at Concord. I wish to thank the RWEMA for permission to examine the volumes. The passages which are the sources for lines 3, 4, 7, and 8 Emerson has marked in the margin with pencil lines.

⁵ *Complete Works*, III, 233.

le pouvoir de rendre un témoignage fidèle, pourvu qu'il soit dirigé par la raison.⁶

The volumes of Gérando's *Histoire* which Emerson borrowed from the Boston Athenaeum during January and February of 1830 could not have supplied the source of the poem, for they belong to the first edition of 1804, which does not contain Note A on Empedocles.⁷ Furthermore, the discussion of Empedocles occurs in I, 125-27, in the first edition, and therefore, Emerson's pencil note, *Degerando vol 2 p 36*, would not apply.⁸ However, since Emerson first read Gérando early in 1830⁹ he must have composed this poem somewhat later, although it is impossible to say just when.

It is possible that the reading of Gérando from January to March, 1830, inspired Emerson to buy the *Histoire*, and naturally he secured the second and augmented edition. If this supposition is correct then Emerson probably owned the work in July of the same year, for in a letter to William and Edward Emerson, he speaks of Gérando lying on his table.¹⁰ Extensive entries in the *Journals* from Gérando occur under the date, October 27, 1830, when Emerson says, "I begin the *Histoire Comparée*."¹¹ He had already,

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36. Gérando is still quoting Sextus Empiricus.

⁷ Arthur Christy's *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (New York, 1932) has a valuable appendix which gives a list of books borrowed by Emerson from the Boston Athenaeum. Professor Christy's entry for Gérando (p. 278) errs in several respects since he confuses the first and second editions of the *Histoire* and misreads several entries in the Athenaeum charging records. I have myself gone to the charging records, but for confirmation of my statement see Kenneth W. Cameron's *Ralph Waldo Emerson's Reading* (Raleigh, N. C., 1941), 17-18, 74.

⁸ Let me add further that no part of the treatment of Empedocles in the first edition could serve as the source of the poem, for Gérando does not here mention the idea of divinity in Empedocles.

⁹ *Journals*, II, 283-84. The date is January 7, 1830. See also *Letters* (Ralph L. Rusk, ed.), I, 291, for Emerson's statement on January 4 that he was beginning to read Gérando.

¹⁰ *Letters*, I, 306. The letter is dated July 30. This reference could not apply to Emerson's borrowings from the Athenaeum five to six months earlier, nor to the Harvard College Library copy, for Harvard did not acquire Gérando, in the second edition, until September 12, 1843, as the bookplates show.

¹¹ *Journals*, II, 330-45. There are no later *Journal* entries from Gérando or references to him. If, as I conjecture, Emerson bought his copy of Gérando during the spring or summer of 1830 then his borrowing of vol-

earlier in the year, read two volumes, or parts of them, of the 1804 edition, so that in this new entry he must mean a fresh start and a more thorough study, probably with his own copy. In the absence of contradictory evidence, we may reasonably conclude that Emerson wrote the poem at the time of his extensive jottings from Gérando, at the end of October or possibly in November, 1830. And since the poem is a faithful versification of the note in volume II, we may surmise that Emerson had the book open before him as he wrote.

This date gives to the poem an unusual importance, hitherto unsuspected, in the chronology of Emerson's poetic treatment of his large and central ideas—that of being an early verse record of his notion of the divinity of man.

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NOTES ON CARLYLE'S JOURNEY TO GERMANY,
AUTUMN 1858

Not long ago Professor Richard A. E. Brooks presented the students of Carlyle with an admirable annotated edition of a hitherto unknown diary of the master.¹ A few notes, which may prove helpful in amplifying Mr. Brooks's commentary, are here contributed.

On p. 9 Carlyle describes the Elbe between Cuxhaven and Hamburg: "Denmark to left hand, Hanover to right (where *Stade* and the 'Convention' was alone memorable to me)." Here 'Stade' is not, as Mr. Brooks thinks, the name of an obscure German antiquary but a town on the left bank of the Elbe, about thirty miles northwest from Hamburg. The spires of Stade are visible from the river.

Some lines below Carlyle mentions "an ornamental village" with "many ships and boats about it; shore of some noticeable height, 50 feet or more, thick-studded with Hamburg 'Country-houses.'" This place is not Altona, as Mr. Brooks surmises, but

ume I from the Boston Athenaeum on April 6, 1831, might have been for the purpose of comparing the first volumes of the 1804 and 1822 editions.

¹ Thomas Carlyle: *Journey to Germany, Autumn 1858*, edited by Richard Albert Edward Brooks, New Haven, 1940.

the old residential suburb of Blankenese, the only place of considerable elevation on the right bank of the Elbe below Hamburg.

Speaking of his landing at Hamburg, Carlyle describes his "captain moring [sic] among the natives by commanding gesture and emphatic Scotch speech (which the natives seemed to *take* quite as well as if it had been intelligible to them)." To a degree it undoubtedly was; a mixture of English and Lower German is the traditional *lingua franca* among sailors and longshoremen on the lower Elbe.

P. 11. "Grass- 'Street,' or something like it." The name of the street is 'Graskeller.'

P. 14. Hamburg: "Strange old narrow winding streets, with silent little *bays* of squares (*Wand-ruhme*, for one)." The name of this little square or rather lane, which has disappeared since, was 'Wandrahm.'

P. 15. Hamburg: "Hawker women, with amazing headgear, and covered baskets of small-trash which they carry like milkmen by apparatus from the shoulders." These are the 'Vierländerinnen,' women fruit peddlers from the 'Vierlande' near Bergedorf, often represented on Christoph Suhr's colored lithographs of Hamburg scenes and in the *Hamburger Ausruf*, a collection of street characters in the manner of the *Cri de Paris*.

P. 27, note 5. Not perhaps but certainly Wilhelm Malte, the first prince of Putbus, d. 1854. The owner of Putbus Castle in 1858 was his widow, Luise.

P. 40. Monument of Frederick William I at Gross-Stresow, Rügen:

Pillar with Friedrich Wilhelm on the top, and an absurd inscription . . . Usedom [Prussian diplomat, Carlyle's host in Rügen] told me afterwards this inscription was the work of a certain Ex-comedian whom the Junker Party had put about the poor King [Frederick William IV] seven years ago and who had ever since been gaining ground with him, 'amusing' the poor Royal evenings, &c.: sad and sordid to the mind of Usedom.

Mr. Brooks, in his note, sees no way of identifying this personage. It is one Louis Schneider (b. 1805, d. 1878), a well-known figure in the intimate history of the Prussian court. A comic actor by vocation, Schneider also specialized in Prussian hyper-royalism and since 1833 edited the arch-conservative *Soldiers' Friend*. In 1850 he was appointed Reader ('Vorleser') to the royal court; some memoirs of the time join with Usedom's report in complaining of

the shallowness of the literary amusements which Schneider arranged for royal evening parties. His memoirs (*Aus meinem Leben*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1879-80), of almost unparalleled vanity, are not devoid of interest as a source of petty information. Sketches of his life can be found in Theodor Fontane's *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig*, book iv, chapter 6—a masterpiece of fair characterization; in G. Valbert (— Victor Cherbuliez) : *Hommes et choses du temps présent* (Paris, 1883), pp. 95-117; and in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxxii, 134-142.

P. 67, note 5. Carlyle's form 'Feldscheer' is good German and preferable to the somewhat pretentious 'Feldscherer.' See Grimm *s. v.*

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A HAZLITT BORROWING FROM GODWIN

"In the *Eloquence of the British Senate*," writes P. P. Howe with reference to Hazlitt's "Character of Mr. Fox," "Hazlitt's own Character has a note appended making acknowledgment to Godwin's, one passage of which, he [Hazlitt] says, 'is taken as nearly as I could recollect it.'¹ It is not easy," continues Howe, "to find the passage in question." Neither in his *Life* nor in the *Centenary Edition* does Howe point out what passage Hazlitt "borrowed," but it is undoubtedly the following:

If . . . we add the ardour and natural impetuosity of his mind, his quick sensibility, his eagerness in the defence of truth, and his impatience of every thing that looked like trick or artifice or affectation, we shall be able in some measure to account for the character of his eloquence. His thoughts came crowding in too fast for the slow and mechanical process of speech. . . . It is no wonder that this difference between the rapidity of his feelings, and the formal round-about method of communicating them, should produce some disorder in his frame . . . ; that he should express himself in hurried sentences, in involuntary exclamations, by vehement

¹ Howe, *Life of Hazlitt*, p. 98, n. 1. The above-mentioned note of Hazlitt's (see his "Character of Mr. Fox," *Works*, ed. Howe, vii, 315, n. 1), in which he acknowledges his debt to Godwin, is as follows: "See an excellent Character of Fox by a celebrated and admirable writer, which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, November, 1806, from which this passage is taken as nearly as I could recollect it."

gestures, by sudden starts and bursts of passion. Every thing shewed the agitation of his mind. His tongue faltered, his voice became almost suffocated, and his face was bathed in tears. He was lost in the magnitude of his subject. He reeled and staggered under the load of feeling which oppressed him. He rolled like the sea beaten by a tempest.²

The passage in Godwin from which this is derived is as follows:

His oratory was impetuous as the current of the river Rhone; nothing could arrest its course. His voice would insensibly rise to too high a key; he would run himself out of breath. Everything shewed how little artifice there was in his eloquence. Though on all great occasions he was throughout energetic, yet it was by sudden flashes and emanations that he electrified the heart, and shot through the blood of his hearer. I have seen his countenance lighted up with more than mortal ardour and goodness; I have been present when his voice has become suffocated with the sudden bursting forth of a torrent of tears.³

That Hazlitt, however, merely recollected the gist of Godwin's eulogy upon Fox as orator is evident from a comparison of the original and Hazlitt's reconstruction of what he remembered of it. His faculty for remembering what he had read not only led him to interlard his texts with quotations, but also was partly responsible for his clinging to his first impressions. Yet his memory was not merely photographic; he was simply endowed with an extraordinary facility for recalling what was significant in what he had heard or seen. In this instance he agreed with Godwin and adopted his ideas and a few of his phrases.⁴

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² Hazlitt, "Character of Mr. Fox," *Works*, vii, 314-15.

³ Godwin, "Character of Fox," *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 22, 1806, as quoted by C. Kegan Paul, *William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries* (Boston, 1876), ii, 156. Hazlitt wrote his Character in 1807.

⁴ In a letter to his father, 1807, Hazlitt says of Godwin's "Character of Fox," "It is a pretty good one. I might if I was lazy take it, and save myself the trouble of writing one myself."

REVIEWS

Eddic Lays. Selected and Edited by FREDERIC T. WOOD. 1940, pp. v, 227.

Considering the fact that this is the first separate edition of Eddic Poems to appear in any English speaking country, its appearance is an event of quite some importance. Yet the enthusiasm of the bibliophile and the scholar must be dampened by the observation, that this is not an edition of the Eddic Lays, but only a selection from that famous collection. But it is a generous selection, and as such, a heartening thing for friends of Old Norse and Eddic studies. It includes twenty-one of the thirty-seven lays. The editor follows the *Codex Regius* in placing the mythological poems ahead of the heroic poetry. But for pedagogical reasons he re-arranges the mythological poems, so as to turn them into graded lessons for the student, beginning with *brymskviða* and ending on the difficult *Völuspá*. In this way, the editor feels that the book may be used as a complement to a volume of prose selections such as Gordon's *Introduction to Old Norse*. For the heroic poems the editor follows the "historical" order of the original, otherwise the story would have been confused.

The editor is engagingly modest about his aims, which he defines as obviating the necessity for the American student to use German editions, the ones he considers best. A Scandinavian might tend to swear by the edition of Bugge, but that would be even less helpful to the American student than the German ones. As a matter of fact Wood's edition is most similar to Neckel's handy and popular edition. It has a concise introduction, a somewhat too meager bibliography, while the text is furnished with as little textual apparatus and the glossary is made as concise as possible.

This is as it should be, especially considering the textual apparatus. The introduction, though brief, is packed with useful and solid information. If one should quibble it is rather strange to speak of Oddi parsonage as a 'settlement' (p. 9), nor is there an obvious reason for writing *málahátt*, *ljóðahátt*, for *-hátr*. The bibliographical aids leave obviously much to be desired when there is no reference to the only existing Eddic bibliography: the *Bibliography of the Eddas* by Halldór Hermannsson (*Islandica* XIII, Cornell Univ. Library 1920), nor to the annual bibliographies in the *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* and *Acta philologica Scandinavica*.

But apart from the text, which, as far as I have sampled it, seems handled with care and circumspection, the glossary is obviously the most important part of the book. In view of his own pedagogical principles I think the editor could have done a considerably better

job here with little extra expenditure (noting how much space is left blank on most pages of the glossary). The grammatical information supplied is altogether too meager. How is the student to know whether the verb *afla* has a preterite *aflaða* or **aflða*. And how, whether *dalr* is *dalar* or *dalir* in the plural, or whether the plural of *mörk* is **markar*, *merkr*, or *markir*? This very essential information would have consumed little extra space. I also regret that there are no references to the texts in the glossary; these would have been especially useful in comments on unique or rare expressions. Reverting to the arrangement of the texts, it is deplorable from the pedagogical point of view that the editor has not printed the titles of the poems as headlines on every page instead of the useless title of the book itself. In all these things the editor could have learned from the practical arrangement of Neckel's *Edda*.

As far as my sampling of the glossary goes, I have found it quite dependable, but it must be kept in mind that, owing to the lack of references, it is difficult to test the glossary without reading the texts and thus looking up the words. In a number of crux cases the editor marks the word with an asterisk, often indicating the authority whom he follows in his exegesis, a very commendable practice. Naturally, there can be much difference of opinion concerning these cruxes, but instead of indulging in a more or less idle discussion of them, I shall confine my comments to cases where the editor gives either a wrong or at least a misleading translation.

Under *allr* we read: *allt er senn*, 'everything is quickly at an end,' which is wrong for 'everything happens at the same time,' or, more specifically, since this is a translation of *Hávamál* 17: *alt er senn, ef hann sylg um getr, uppi er þá geð guma*, 'both things happen at once: if he gets his drink, he loses his mind.' Perhaps the editor was following Neckel who makes the same mistake.

It might have been noticed that the senses attributed to *aurr*, 'drops of water,' and *aurugr*, 'wet,' are not found otherwise in Icelandic where the words always mean 'gravel, sand,' 'gravelly, sandy.' But in view of the OE *ear*, 'sea,' and Icel. *úr*, 'drizzling rain,' *úrigr*, 'wet, covered with spray or rain,' the meanings given are very plausible, though too abstract for the cases of occurrence. 'Spray, mist,' and 'misty, shrouded in spray' are undoubtedly better translations of the cases in *Vsp* 19 and 27.

When the editor translates (sub *dvelja*) *mart um dvelr* (*pann er um morgin sefr*) by 'one loses much,' it is a good interpretation according to the context, rather than the correct translation: 'many things hinder (delay, LET) him who (habitually) sleeps in the morning.'

If *eikinn* (as A. Jóhannesson believes, cf. *Íslensk tunga i fornöld* 429) on the one hand is connected with Gothic *afaikan*, 'deny, repudiate,' on the other with Mod. Norwegian *eikjen*, 'trættekjær,' = 'quarrelsome' (A. Torp, *Nynorsk etym. ordbok*), then the origin from *eik/oak*: *oaken* suggested by the editor seems rather remote.

Even Mod. Icelandic supports the Gothic-Norwegian usage: the word is used mostly about raging bulls (cf. S. Blöndal, *Isl.-dansk Ordbog, eikinn*).

The compound *spá-gandar*, *Vsp* 29, is lacking in the glossary, the editor should not have been thrown off its track by the fact that the text has *spá ganda*.

The verb *verpa* has been forgotten, and with it the troublesome passage of *Vsp* 5, *sól varp sunnan*.

To mention one more drawback: the book has no index.

But it would be unjust to leave the reader of this review with the impression that the book is a failure. On the contrary, I believe that, within the rather too narrow limits that the editor has set himself mostly for the sake of economy, he has succeeded in producing a textbook that promises to be popular in American universities. For that every teacher of Old Norse owes him a vote of thanks.

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The Middle Ages, 395-1500. By J. R. STRAYER and D. C. MUNRO. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942. Pp. xii + 568.

This book was written by Professor Strayer. It replaces the Munro-Sontag volume of 1928 in the Century Historical Series, and the author has made enough use of that volume to feel justified in putting the late Professor Munro's name under his own on the title-page. The new work is well planned and well written. Its most striking weaknesses are due to deficiencies in the author's professional equipment. Like many mediaevalists, Mr. Strayer has only a limited acquaintance with the vernacular literatures. He seems to know his way about in French, but his ignorance of English, Irish and Icelandic appears to be almost complete. He lists several Icelandic sagas in his "suggestions for reading" (p. 537), but can hardly have thought of them as literature, for he tells us elsewhere that "French prose was much more highly developed than that of any other country in the middle ages" (p. 377). By way of specification he mentions the narratives of Villehardouin and Joinville, and adds, "they are masterpieces of prose, and French is the only European language which can make such a claim for a work of the thirteenth century" (*ibid.*). Here he ignores, not only the *Heimskringla* and other Icelandic masterpieces, but also an English masterpiece, the *Ancrene Riwle*. Moreover, since French prose did not develop until the thirteenth century, Mr. Strayer seems to have taken it for granted that the other vernaculars were equally late (or later) in developing this important tool. He tells us, "during the tenth and early eleventh

centuries . . . the vernacular languages . . . were so limited in vocabulary and so incoherent in syntax that they could not be used for logical thought. . . . Until the thirteenth century, no rational discussion of any problem, secular or religious, was possible without using Latin" (p. 164). Evidently Mr. Strayer is unacquainted with the writings of *Ælfric*. But the author's case is much worse. He seems to believe that no vernacular literature of any kind existed in Western Europe before the twelfth century. Here again he is guided by the history of French. Since French did not become a literary language until the twelfth century, the same must hold of the other vernaculars. He states, "the twelfth and thirteenth centuries . . . [saw] the beginnings of the great vernacular literatures" (p. 506; cf. p. 246). Here he ignores many important works in vernaculars of the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia, including world-famous masterpieces like *Beowulf* and the *Elder Edda*. For Mr. Strayer the first vernacular masterpiece is the *Chanson de Roland* (p. 249). A little later we learn that "English became a literary language only after the reign of John" (p. 284). The great Irish sagas, and Irish literature generally, are passed over in silence.

The author often lumps Britons and Irish under the head Celtic, making needless trouble for himself and his readers. Thus, when he writes that "the Celtic Christians were zealous missionaries . . . but they found it difficult to convert their hereditary enemies, the Anglo-Saxons" (p. 63), his first statement holds for the Irish but not for the Britons, while his second statement holds for neither, though it applies in some sort to both: the Irish evangelized the English (with no great difficulty); the Britons, because of their hereditary enmity to the English, refused to evangelize them. In the early Middle Ages, be it added, the Irish and the English were friends, not foes; their later enmity is one of the many evil legacies of the Norman Conquest, a subjugation which spread from England to Ireland during the reign of William's great-grandson. The author misrepresents this extension of Henry II's Angevin empire to Ireland when he calls it an "English conquest" (p. 106). His map of Europe in 1200 is equally remiss with its legend "English possessions in France." The English had no possessions in France or Ireland in those days; they and the Irish were fellows in subjection to French rulers.

On the whole the author neglects the vigorous and many-sided culture of early England. A small point may serve to illustrate this weakness. We are told that "by the fifteenth century a new style of manuscript illumination had been developed in which the pictures were separated from the text and occupied whole pages by themselves" (p. 450). One of the most famous of medieval MSS, Bodley, Junius xi, commonly dated *circa* 1000, has a number of full-page illustrations, but Mr. Strayer, one must suspect, has never

looked at the handsome facsimile edition of this MS in his university library; it is *English* handiwork.

Many other mistakes, more or less serious, might be pointed out if space were available. But the reader of this review must not be led to think that Mr. Strayer's book is worthless. An extraordinarily uneven piece of work, it includes many good things as well as bad. A teacher alive to its faults and careful to point them out as he comes to them may well find it handy as a textbook for his class. But it would be dangerous to put this book on a reading list in the absence of such detailed correction.

KEMP MALONE

John Philip Kemble: the Actor in His Theatre. By HERSCHEL BAKER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 414. \$4.00.

This book is not remarkably exciting, but then neither was Kemble. The writer's scholarship is sound, his organization methodical; and, if he has no great sympathy for his hero, he gives him a very full day in court. There are none of those moments, dear to biographers of actors, when the breathless author works up to a triumphant debut with the pit on its feet or, as a protagonist's fondness for the bottle grows on him, even tries to communicate a sense of doom. It is to Mr. Baker's credit that he does not invent any. Kemble was no Garrick or Kean. Poise, not fire, distinguished his efforts. Mrs. Siddons made them smell blood in the sleepwalking scene; but critics asked of her brother, as today we ask of Mr. Maurice Evans, "Why will he not give the passions fuller scope?"

This thoroughgoing study is the first of real magnitude in over a century. It is based on an impressive range of reading—of manuscripts as well as printed sources—in England as well as here—about the milieu as well as the man. Among the manuscripts is the diary in which, for the twenty-seven years that began in 1788 with his ascension of the throne at Drury Lane (unfortunately for him there was in R. B. Sheridan a power behind the throne), the head of the British theater's first family wrote the annals of his reign there and later at Covent Garden.

Any work on this subject which, as Mr. Baker's rightly does, sticks to the subject is bound to be a little maddening because the glimpses of the great Sarah must remain glimpses. One would read with more enthusiasm another though a superfluous book about the woman of genius than a needed one about the man of talent and industry. Nevertheless, he who wishes to familiarize himself with the decades between the abdication of Garrick and the revolution

of the elder Kean will be obliged to make his way through these pages—all of them. Mr. Baker has the facts. And readers over whom theatrical history has cast its curious spell will not put this volume back on the shelf till they have finished it.

This in spite of notable defects. Kemble's place in the history of the British theater rests chiefly on his revivals of Shakespeare. These are frequently mentioned; but rarely is there much account of how they differed from those of earlier managers, and sometimes we are not even told which role Kemble acted. The author writes a little awkwardly, though he is commendably spirited. One doubts the wisdom, however, even for the sake of avoiding repetition, of employing such epithets (obviously inadequate) as "that erratic gentleman" for Byron or "the good lady" for Mrs. Siddons.

The system of reference to authority is very faulty. Several titles of works consulted are often lumped in one note, while the reference number comes at the end of a long block of text. It is therefore frequently impossible to tell whence a fact or even a quotation is derived. Thus while a fragment (p. 187) from a contemporary account of Kemble's *Macbeth* carries a reference number, the note gives eleven titles. Presumably these all deal with the revival, but the reader can only guess where the quotation comes from. Another bad practice is the omission of authors' initials. Since only a few titles are repeated in the bibliography, initials as well as date and place of publication should be supplied in the first reference note. To be sure, this standard practice can be overdone: among an editor's plagues are contributors who insist on thus identifying E. K. Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage*. But unless a book is very well known, the first reference should be full. I find a good many citations in Mr. Baker's notes beyond my ken; some would require, before one could proceed to the right spot in the library, minutes with the card catalogue—minutes the author could easily have spared his reader.

Failure to put the reference number precisely next the pertinent matter in the text is sometimes actually misleading. Thus (p. 185) the account of Kemble's text for *Macbeth* ends by quoting the dying speech inserted by Garrick. At this point a reference number appears, but the note refers to a single book which contains no information about either Garrick's or Kemble's production. It is evidently cited because Mr. Baker has mentioned D'avenant's version earlier in the same paragraph.

"Decided one critic" is all we have to identify another quotation, since the note cites "*Morning Post*," "*Henry Irving Shakespeare*," "*Boaden, Mrs. Jordan*" (this author being of course readily spotted in a catalogue even without his "J"), "*Kelly, German Visitors*" (but the Kellys are a numerous tribe in almost any catalogue), "*Oulton*" (identified in the bibliography and in a key to the notes), and "*Spencer, Shakespeare Improved*." I can testify positively that the last of these works has contributed nothing what-

ever to the stock of Mr. Baker's information between the points at which it is previously cited (p. 185) and this (p. 186). On the contrary, the traffic is all the other way.

I hope these remonstrances will not seem ungracious or petty. The matter is of some importance, if the operations of the literary historian are not to become mere private incantations; and should this method of reference go unprotested, others might adopt it. Mr. Baker's book is a useful and interesting study, in spite of it.

HAZELTON SPENCER

The Sentinels & Other Plays. By RICHARD PENN SMITH. Edited by RALPH H. WARE and H. W. SCHOENBERGER. *Metamora & Other Plays.* By JOHN AUGUSTUS STONE, SILAS S. STEELE, CHARLES POWELL CLINCH, JOSEPH M. FIELD, H. J. CONWAY (?), JOHN H. WILKINS, JOSEPH STEVENS JONES, and JOHN BROUGHTHAM. Edited by EUGENE R. PAGE. *Four Plays.* By ROYALL TYLER. Edited by ARTHUR WALLACE PEACH and GEORGE FLOYD NEWBROUGH. *Monte Cristo as Played by James O'Neill & Other Plays.* By CHARLES FECHTER, JULIA WARD HOWE, GEORGE C. HAZELTON, LANGDON MITCHELL, and WILLIAM C. DE MILLE. Edited by J. B. RUSSAK. *The Plays of Henry C. De Mille written in collaboration with David Belasco.* Edited with an introductory essay by ROBERT HAMILTON BALL. *The Heart of Maryland & Other Plays.* By DAVID BELASCO. Edited by GLENN HUGHES and GEORGE SAVAGE. *The White Slave & Other Plays.* By BARTLEY CAMPBELL. Edited by NAPIER WILT. *Man and Wife & Other Plays.* By AUGUSTIN DALY. Edited with introductory notes and a play list by CATHERINE STURTEVANT. *America's Lost Plays*, edited by BARRETT H. CLARK, vols. XIII-XX. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941 (vol. XX, 1942). Pp. xii + 180, viii + 408, x + 126, vi + 362, xxvi + 346, xii + 324, lxxxii + 254, xii + 410. \$5 a volume; \$85 the set of 20 volumes.

Mr. Clark and the Princeton University Press are to be congratulated on the completion of this large and interesting undertaking, earlier volumes of which have already been noticed in this journal (LVI, 475-6, 639-40). While for the most part the contributions of the several editors have not been extensive and doubtless

need not have been, to the exceptions should be added Professor Wilt, who has done a substantial job with his assignment.

On the whole the merit of this series obviously lies in its presenting us with the texts of a hundred old (that is, pre-O'Neill and mostly unliterary) American plays, many of which it prints for the first time. I have read them all, with I hope a proper contempt for the occasional example of false pretensions to poetry or philosophy and a good deal of respect for those which obey Bernard Shaw's prescription, in one of his letters to Ellen Terry, and go straight for the fundamentals of human nature. Whether or not Mr. Shaw is right in holding that a good melodrama is harder to write than "all this clever-clever," a good one is easier to read than the kind that tries for but doesn't quite make the top bracket of the clever-clever.

If it is good *enough*, continues the sage, why, you have a *Lear* or *Macbeth*. I don't recall being reminded very much of Shakespeare in any of these volumes; but it would be nice to see some of their contents staged—if, that is, our college theaters would get to work on them and would act them, not sophomorically, for the cheap laugh at a self-consciously virtuous sentiment, but straightforwardly, for what is in them. There is something sound and fundamentally American in a surprising number of them, something that is too often missing from the current "vehicle" (Miss Katharine Hepburn's, for example) knocked together by playwrights who make believe they have something to say on a topic of the moment but are not really interested in the people they invent to do the saying smartly.

America's "lost plays" were written for a theater that certainly had its limitations, a theater out of which came not a single masterpiece; but it was a theater that was very sure of itself, a theater that knew it had an audience which relished what it had to offer and was as appreciative of the fine points of playing as a baseball crowd is today and no less accustomed to making comparisons between players and to taking pride in a simple kind of connoisseurship. It was a theater that was not afraid of scoring "points," and that acted Shakespeare fullbloodedly, not gingerly.

Ill fares the land, to hordes of hastening ills an easy prey,
Where honest melodrama fades and wisecracks make a play.

HAZELTON SPENCER

Le Classicisme français. Par HENRI PEYRE. New York: Editions de la Maison Française, 1942. Pp. 281.

This is an altered and enlarged edition of the author's *Qu'est-ce que le Classicisme?*, which appeared in 1933.¹ M. Peyre brings to

¹ It is dated 1935 in the preliminary "ouvrages du même auteur," but on p. 9 the date of publication is given as 1933.

his problem the tastes of one nurtured on the classics of France, but acquainted at first hand with the literatures of other countries and with points of view very different from those prevalent in the seventeenth century. He has an extensive knowledge of critical opinion and writes with keenness and charm. His book is not a study of general seventeenth-century characteristics, many of which do not fit into any definition of classicism, but rather an exposition of the main qualities found in the leading seventeenth-century authors, among whom he includes Descartes and Corneille as well as those who flourished in 1660-85, though he lays special emphasis upon these last.

He stresses the interest these authors showed in psychological analysis, their sense of form, their clarity, serenity, impersonality, universality, their cult of the "art de plaisir." He adds interesting chapters on their relationship to contemporary artists, to the ancients, to neo-classicism, on the reception they met in various countries. His contention that they were primarily artists rather than moralists is excellently presented, but could have been strengthened in the case of Molière if, instead of saying (p. 105), "Molière ne cesse d'affirmer qu'il cherche à corriger les hommes," he had reminded his readers that Molière first made this claim when he was defending himself against critics of *Tartuffe*. I am somewhat surprised that M. Peyre fails to mention among the characteristics of French classicists their abounding wit, so obvious in Corneille, Pascal, La Fontaine, Molière, and Racine, if not in Descartes and Bossuet. There are a few corrections that may easily be made in a third edition.² In spite of these facts the book is an eloquent apology for the writers discussed, one that should be appreciated by all who have labored in the same vineyard, by "tous ceux qui ont foi en la France."

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² P. 37, "L'auditoire restreint de ces écrivains classiques." In 1677, the year of *Phèdre*, over forty thousand tickets of admission to the Guénégaud theater were purchased, a fact that shows that dramatists, at least, were not writing for an "auditoire restreint." P. 42, "Il [the classical author] pouvait se dispenser d'attaquer ses prédécesseurs." He could, but did he? Descartes wanted to make "table rase" of his. Pascal fell upon the Jesuits. Corneille attacked Mairet; Racine, Corneille and Boyer; Molière, the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. P. 60, Pradon is said to have been born in 1632 and is consequently grouped with Boileau and Racine, neither of whom would have appreciated the association; as a matter of fact, he was born in 1644, which puts him with La Bruyère and Bayle, though I fail to see any significance in this fact. P. 101, n. 37, the novel is placed among genres "que ne régentait nulle règle," though this was the opinion neither of La Calprenède nor of Huet. P. 182, n. 11, "un professeur d'histoire de la médecine à Leipzig, Sigerist"; as he has been my colleague at the Johns Hopkins since 1931 and is not a German, to refer to him as a professor at Leipzig is unnecessary, not to say unkind.

Motif-Index of the Italian Novella in Prose. By D. P. ROTUNDA.

Bloomington, Ind., 1942. Pp. ix + 216. \$2. (Indiana University Publications, Folklore Series, no. 2.)

"Principally, this Motif-Index aims to give a quick and easy reference to the subject matter handled by the *novellieri* in prose of three centuries." It follows the plan and classification of Stith Thompson's well-known *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (1932), indicating with asterisks all entries not found in the latter work. It is thus one further step toward Prof. Thompson's announced purpose "to reduce the traditional narrative material of the whole earth to order." Three centuries of the Italian novella from earliest times through the Cinquecento is indeed a large field. Folklorists professional and amateur, and source hunters of many modern literatures cannot fail to be grateful to Prof. Rotunda for accomplishing this huge task. In fact, it is so huge that one hesitates to wish that he had done more. Still, at least the amateur in folklore methods is certain to wish that an index of the novelle catalogued had been given. This could have been done in an appendix in very little space, showing by number what entry was given to this or that novella of each collection (Decameron I, 1, etc.). Without this, for instance, if he is interested in the sources or analogues of, say, Decameron VI, 1, he can only guess that it is to be found under the very large heading of *Cleverness*. He is obliged to begin at the beginning reading through hundreds of titles. And when he fails to find it at J 1223 under: *Rebuke for telling a poor and long-winded story*, he is bound to be discouraged.

Even professional folklorists are likely to complain at Rotunda's omission of obscene motifs. Space is left for them in the number system under the entry "Humor concerning Sex" and it is not clear on just what *scientific* basis they are excluded; whereas, if they are omitted for moral reasons, one would like more frankness of statement to that effect (p. 214, n. 1). After all, the rejection of obscene motifs from three centuries of Italian novelle is no small rejection.

If nowhere else, concessions to the amateur should have been made in the way of a longer introduction to the Index. He is bound to wonder if all these novelle, many of them complex forms of individual art, can really be considered *folklore*. Likewise he is sure to have serious objection to the statement that "the *novellieri*, then, become important in that they generally present motifs already known in folklore in their most artistic and vivid form, and they in turn are imitated by writers in other lands." It is not clear even in context that Prof. Rotunda remembers that this means that they become important for this reason for the *folklorist*. For one studying their *art*, this may well be their *least* important aspect.

Such matters of theory will probably not trouble the hunter of

sources and analogues. He knows how often he has to return to the Italian novelle in his hunt. From now on he will not forget Rotunda's work.

C. S. S.

La Dorotea di Lope di Vega. By ALDA CROCE. Bari: Laterza, 1940. (Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.) Pp. 352. L. 25.

Miss Croce's study of Lope's *Dorotea* is based upon her dissatisfaction with the conclusions of her predecessors, and her conviction that a more stable basis of criticism may be found than that offered either by Karl Vossler or Leo Spitzer. According to Vossler, Lope had created his "sick" characters and extravagant style only to condemn both. Spitzer, on the other hand, has maintained that the "literature" is the core, the unity, of its artistic existence; that such is the purpose of the baroque writer.

Miss Croce finds unity in the work as an "obra de vejez," in which Lope plays a dual rôle: the poet familiar with youthful passions, and the aged philosopher who intervenes with cryptic criticism and reflections upon the vanity of pleasure. Biographical data of Lope's late years seem to support her hypothesis, although she warns against reading the *Dorotea* as autobiography. Miss Croce cannot avoid the conclusion that the *Dorotea* is essentially a treatise on love, which fact she finds quite in accordance with the moral character of the work. The passionate characters are sick; their cure is *desengaño*. In this sense we may think of the play as an expiation drama.

The artistic core of the work, according to Miss Croce, is lyrical. All else is but digression, including therein both the didacticism and the verse. Somewhat later she assigns to the verse the function of creating atmosphere and giving direct expression to the love of the characters.

The feature of Miss Croce's study probably most open to criticism is her analysis and attempted solution of the stylistic problem. She seeks no artistic unity within the text, but rather a biographical-biological explanation, supported historically, which cleaves the style of the *Dorotea* into a sort of antiphonal game between character and comment. After such an analysis, her insistence that we cannot separate the "artistic" (for her the lyrical) from the discursive seems an unsuccessful attempt to reunite irreconcilable elements. Miss Croce has found an explanation for the stylistic dichotomy without in any way resolving the breach.

Another schism appears in Miss Croce's analysis. In view of her well constructed examination of the moral purpose of the play, it is a bit surprising that she should insist upon a lyric core. Why not a didactic core? Yet this didactic character she prefers to

explain by the contrapuntal character of Lope himself. Evidently she gives predominance to the "youthful Lope." How then can she characterize the *Dorotea* as a treatise? By assuming that art must be lyrical, Miss Croce has caught herself on the horns of a dilemma.

In general, it does not seem that Miss Croce has made any considerable contribution to a greater *aesthetic* appreciation of the play. She has offered no resolution of the great problem—the stylistic problem—only an explanation for its existence brought from without the text. We feel that Miss Croce's interpretations must fall before the more synthetic treatment of her predecessors.

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BRIEF MENTION

Writers of the Western World. Edited by ADDISON HIBBARD. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942. Pp. xxii + 1261. \$4.75. A large book in double columns of selections first written in English, or now translated into it. They range from Homer to Hemingway, from Genesis to *The Hairy Ape*. Realizing that "le temps est un songe," that Ovid may be considered a romanticist, the author of the nineteenth Psalm an impressionist, Mr. H. has grouped his material, not chronologically, but according to the "temper" of the authors, as exemplifying classicism, romanticism—including symbolism,—or realism—including naturalism, impressionism, and expressionism. Each group of selections is preceded by a brief account of the leading characteristics of each "temper"; the work of each author, by a biographical sketch. Three groups of illustrations that reproduce masterpieces of painting, sculpture, or architecture help to emphasize the unity of the arts. Although many authors are represented, many of importance have been left out: Sappho, Plautus, Petrarch, Ariosto, Ronsard, Corneille, La Fontaine, Addison, Scott, Schiller, Musset, Dickens, Thackeray, Meredith, Maeterlinck, Anatole France, Shaw, etc. One may criticize, too, some of the classifications, for great writers do not fit smugly in such compartments. However, it should be remembered that the book is intended as an introduction to European and American literature rather than as a contribution to knowledge. Mr. H. should be congratulated on the catholicity of his own temper and the care with which he has reproduced the selections. He has provided American undergraduates with a substantial library shelf, if not with a library.

H. C. L.

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[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Bakeless, John.—The tragical history of Christopher Marlowe. *Cambridge*: Harvard U. Press, 1942. 2 vols.: xvi + 375, viii + 432. \$7.50.

Carver, P. L.—Burke and the totalitarian system. Reprinted from the *U. of Toronto Quarterly*, XII (October, 1942), 32-47.

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